



ENGLAND



WALES



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CHISTON

LIVES
of the
PRINCES OF WALES

by
Robert Folkestone Williams, esq.
author of
"Shakespeare and his Friends" &c



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LONDON:

Colburn, Great Marlborough Street.

LIVES
OF THE
PRINCES OF WALES,

HEIRS TO THE BRITISH THRONE ;

NOTICES OF THE COURT AND CAMP OF ENGLAND, FROM
THE THIRTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Now First Published,
FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SOURCES.

BY
ROBERT FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "SHAKSPEARE AND HIS FRIENDS," ETC.

" The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,
Which mellowed by the stealing hours of time
Will well become the seat of majesty."
SHAKSPEARE.

LONDON :
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
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INTRODUCTION.

THE eldest sons of the kings of England, for a considerable period subsequently to the Conquest, bore honorary titles that distinguished them from all other members of their families. Some of these were derived from possessions held by the king of England on the continent, obtained by descent, by marriage, or by conquest. Normandy and Aquitaine made them dukes, Poitou and Monstreuille earls. It was not till the reign of Henry the Third that they bore a distinction derived from any part of the kingdom of England, when, in the year 1245, Edward, his eldest son, received from him the earldom of Chester. In public documents they were styled the king's first-born son—*filius regis primogenitus* ; or our very dear first-born son—*charissimus primogenitus filius noster*. In old chronicles, if not addressed by their foreign titles, they are usually introduced with the prefix “lord,” in French or Latin, to their Christian names.

Some writers have asserted that the more honourable distinction of prince was first borne by Edward, eldest son of Henry the Third ; but they have no better authority than Polydore Virgil, whose statements will not always bear investigation. As this title is known to have been derived from the neighbouring principality of Wales, it appears incredible that it should have been adopted when a prince existed in that country whose undoubted right it was. It has been considered advisable not to commence the series till, by the death of the last of the native princes, a rational cause was allowed the king of England for bestowing the extinct title on his own heir ; from that period it has been borne by the eldest son of the reigning sovereign, with a few unimportant exceptions, to the present time, a period of nearly six hundred years.

With such powerful claims on the biographer, it is singular that hitherto no attempt has been made to write the histories of the Princes of Wales consecutively. Two or three detached lives, by different writers, are all that have been given us ; excepting only, when they have attained the regal dignity, such accounts of them as have been thought necessary in a regular or a distinct portion of a history of England. Even as sovereigns, personal memoir has been very

little considered, and their career as princes almost entirely neglected. Lists of the princes of Wales have been given by Speed and other historians, but they are nearly all incorrect; these authors either omitting individuals who unquestionably bore the title, or naming others whose claim to it cannot be proved. It was whilst engaged in researches for a work undertaken with the hope it might be made to supply such a deficiency, that the author became possessed of a MS. written about the commencement of the reign of James the First, a small quarto, beautifully written on vellum, which he obtained, by purchase, of Mr. Rodd, the bookseller. This, however, contains little more than names and dates, except an argument for resuming the dignity, no doubt written with a view to induce king James to confer it on his eldest son, prince Henry, which he did in the year 1610. Since then, there has been published a quarto, bearing the following title: "A Treatise concerning the Dignities, Titles, Offices, Pre-eminences, and Yearly Revenues, which have been granted by the several Kings of England, after the Conquest, for the Honour and Maintenance of the Princes, their Eldest Sons; with sundry Particulars relating thereto. London: printed for T. Cooper, at the Globe, in Paternoster-Row. MDCCXXXVII."

This is a dry detail, occupying fifty-eight pages ; like the MS., beginning with the son of Henry the Third, but carrying the list as far as Charles the Second ; the greater portion consisting of extracts from those Patent, Charter, and Close Rolls, in which the possessions and titles of the different princes are described.

It was not till the author had made considerable progress in his task, he heard that an eminent heraldic artist — G. P. Harding, Esq. F.S.A. — had completed a series of pictorial illustrations of this subject. These he had not an opportunity of inspecting till his first volume had been completed, and was in the press. By the courtesy of that gentleman he was allowed to examine a volume of great interest and merit, in which Mr. Harding had copied, with admirable fidelity, the authentic portraits, armorial bearings, &c., of the princes of Wales, commencing with Edward of Cærnarvon and concluding with George the Fourth. His chief object having been illustrative, the literary part of his undertaking has necessarily been very brief, but the singular beauty and high finish of his embellishments alone render the book unique as a work of art. From such a trustworthy source the illustrations to this work will be derived.

For the materials of the *Lives of the Princes*

of Wales, the author, therefore, has been obliged to make extensive researches; but the trouble and time expended upon them appeared to him to be well applied, over a field so rich in historical interest, and he can hardly be mistaken in imagining that, while the nation is watching, with its best hopes, the progress of the infant possessor of this most popular of British honours—the heir presumptive of our fair and gracious sovereign, and of a prince already endeared to the country by the legitimate influence of his own princely virtues—it can scarcely be presented with matter more seasonable than the actions of his illustrious predecessors. But, independently of this source of interest, the Princes of Wales possess other national recommendations, in being inseparably connected with such glorious achievements, romantic adventures, and picturesque incidents, as are to be found in no other part of our annals.

The life of EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE opens to us the brightest chapter in the chivalry of England, which is continued with almost equal attraction in the no less adventurous career of HENRY OF MONMOUTH; tragedies more touching than the best representations of the stage may be seen in the histories of EDWARD OF CÆRNARVON, RICHARD OF BORDEAUX, and the ill-fated princes

of the rival houses of YORK and LANCASTER; the adventures of the STUART PRINCES throw the inventions of the imagination into the shade; and those of the HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK, if less marvellous, convey equally characteristic pictures of the times to which they belong. There are other members of this noble gallery, who, having won the love of all classes of the community by their superior virtues and intelligence, were in early manhood snatched away by death from the throne for which they seem to have been so admirably qualified. Of their histories so little is generally known, that their names have almost been forgotten; nevertheless, PRINCE ARTHUR, eldest son of Henry the Seventh; PRINCE HENRY, eldest son of James the First; and PRINCE FREDERIC, father of George the Third, have left materials for biography, which cannot fail to be read with the highest gratification.*

* The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging, with his best thanks, the kindness of several valued friends, in placing at his disposal various scarce MSS. and printed works, and in other ways facilitating his researches.

LIVES OF THE PRINCES OF WALES.

EDWARD OF CÆRNARVON, EARL OF PONTHEU, OF MONSTREUILLE, AND OF CHESTER, DUKE OF AQUITAINE, PRINCE OF WALES, AND KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Edward of Cærnarvon—Marriages in the Cradle—Edward appointed Guardian of the Kingdom—Invades Scotland—Is contracted in Marriage with Isabella of France—His imperfect Education—Is created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester—Receives other Distinctions—Splendid Ceremonies—He joins the King's Army in the Invasion of Scotland—Forms improper associates—Piers de Gavestone—Appears at Tournaments—Commits an Outrage upon one of his Father's Judges—Gavestone banished—Death of Edward the First—Return of Gavestone—Honours and Rewards showered upon him by the young King—Edward obtains Loans from the Italian Merchants—Proceeds to France—His Marriage—Gavestone banished—The King continues to favour him—Persecution of the Knights Templars—Robert de Bruce—Gavestone recalled—The King shews him increased Favour—The Barons rise in Arms—The King's Campaigns in Scotland—Gavestone again banished—Again recalled—The King maintains him in England in defiance of the Barons—Gavestone taken, and executed as a Public Enemy—The King's Anger at his Death—Reconciliation between the King and his Barons—Their Treaty of Peace—The Battle of Bannockburn—Deplorable State of England—The King's Misconduct—A Pretender—Edward performs Homage to the King of France—Confederacies against the de Spencers—They are banished—The King defeats the Barons—Earl of Lancaster beheaded—Wealth of the New Favourites—Peace with Scotland.

THE actions of individuals filling an exalted station in the theatre of the world can rarely be made public

without some advantage to the more obscure, for, if worthy of their rank, the greatness they exemplify points them out as models for those over whom admirable examples ever maintain an admirable influence; and if dishonouring their station, the distinction they give to their offences, places them more prominently as beacons to warn all who are voyaging upon the perilous ocean of life, how miserable a wreck may be made of even the noblest vessels. The life of Edward of Cærnarvon affords a most instructive lesson, to which the prince and the peasant may refer with equal profit: in many respects it may be regarded as one of those illuminated pages from our venerable chronicles, where, however daintily the subject be wrought in royal purple and shining gold, we trace, with but little difficulty, a humiliating picture of moral degradation and human misery.

Edward appears to the greater disadvantage by his immediate proximity to his predecessor and successor; men completely of a different stamp of mind, who seem as clearly made to govern as he was to be governed. The spirit of Edward the First and that of Edward the Third were exactly suited to lead a warlike nation to the highest elevation of military glory; but that of their unfortunate kinsman—if a spirit it could be called—could only be productive to them of defeat and disgrace. War was not his element, although he is frequently found at the head of an army; he had no talent for government; he had as little inclination for the trouble attendant upon his condition as head of the state; and he was always anxious to escape from dignities that were only burdensome to him, to pursuits and associates that at once brought him to a level with the most contemptible of the human race. But he occasionally, let it be remarked, gave indications of noble impulses, which, while they shew he was not entirely insensible to the responsibilities and observances inseparably connected with his rank, suggest the inference that there must have been some obstacle to the developement of such impulses, induced, as will presently be shewn, by neglected education, which

warped his character in a manner so fatal to his own honour and the interests of his country.

When Edward the First, after a spirited resistance, had conquered, as he supposed, the brave and hardy inhabitants of Cambria, he had sufficient knowledge of their resolution to be aware that he had yet a much more difficult triumph to achieve in conquering their prejudices. They had long been governed by their own princes, and although the last of their royal line¹ had perished in the war which the King of England had waged with so decided a determination to annex their country to his dominions—the policy of which is far more apparent than the justice—he was convinced that only by a prince whom they could regard as peculiarly their own, would they allow themselves to be governed. The measures he took to secure to them the complete fulfilment of their desires, while they obtained the most perfect realisation of his own purposes, are eminently characteristic of this able monarch. Into one of the strong castles he had lately built in situations that gave them the command of the neighbourhood, he caused his queen, Eleanor of Castile, to be brought when her condition gave a promise of increase to his family; and a short time afterwards procured the attendance of some of the most influential of the Welsh nobles, for a reason very clearly stated in the following extract from a writer, to whose chronicle reference will frequently be made in these pages :—

“ King Edward, albeit he had brought all Wales under his subjection (a statute made at Ruthland in the twelfth yere of his raigne, incorporated and united the same unto England), yet could he never win the good will of y^e common people of the country to accept him for their prince, unless he would remaine himselfe in that country among them, neither could he bring them to yeeld obedience to any prince except he were of their owne nation. For the Welshmen, having experience of the government of the English officers, and knowing that the king would rule the country by his deputies, could not abide to have any Englishman to be their ruler: wherefore, oftentimes upon the king's motion, they answered that they were contented to take for their prince any man whom he would name, so he were a Welshman; and other answer could he never get of them by any meenes.”²

¹ Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last of the ancient British princes, slain in the year 1282.

² *Annales, or a General Chronicle of England.* By JOHN STOW. Edited

The assembled nobles, though they had determined to die to the last man on their native mountains, respected the summons which brought them once more, with any but agreeable feelings, to the presence of the dreaded King of England. At this meeting he must have seemed in a mood much less stern than usual, which may have excited in their minds a hope that he was about to grant their wishes. Nor did the purport of the speech with which he immediately addressed them, tend to remove it in the slightest degree. He began by declaring to them, that whereas they were oftentimes suitors unto him to appoint them a prince, he, now having occasion to depart out of the country, would name them a prince, if they would allow and obey him whom he should name.¹ They cautiously answered that they would so do if he would appoint them one of their nation. The king lost no time in assuring them, "That he would name one that was born in Wales, and could speak never a word of English."² The delighted nobles gave their assent with great readiness. The idea of a prince of their own must have brought to their minds recollections of the departed greatness of their country, that had been more than ever the favourite theme of their bards, since the last of their royal line had been sacrificed fighting for his birthright. Snatches of these stirring strains, familiar to them as the ordinary accompaniments of their banquets, warmed their hearts, as the welcome promise spread before them its glorious perspective. He left them to congratulate each other on his favourable intentions, and in their retrospections and anticipations to find sources of the most genuine satisfaction, and returned in a few seconds, very much to their surprise, bearing in his arms a new-born infant; but much more were they astonished when he presented him to them as their prince, satisfy-

by *Edmund Howes, Gent.* Folio, 1615, p. 202. In quoting from old English writers the plan generally adopted in this work will be to give one example as in the original, and afterwards to modernise the orthography.

¹ Stow, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*

ing them most completely that he fulfilled the stipulated conditions,—that he had been born in Wales, and could not speak a word of the English language. The Welsh barons were, doubtless, taken by surprise, but they were not long in perceiving that only in this manner could they possess a native prince without war with the powerful monarch they had had so many reasons to fear, or amongst themselves, which could scarcely be less disastrous to the country. They accepted the royal infant as their prince, and willingly promised their allegiance,—a promise, it is only just to these brave men to add, they most honourably fulfilled, at a time when allegiance to the prince was generally disclaimed.¹

The child thus easily made a ruler of a people the dreaded Edward had found it impossible with all his military resources to bring under subjection, was born on St. Mark's day, on the 26th of April, 1284, in one of a suite of rooms still existing in the Eagle Tower of Cærnarvon Castle. After ascending a flight of stairs the visitor gains admission to a circular chamber, an ante-room, through which he passes to another of larger dimensions: this is the queen's chamber. It was here the prince was born, and if the imagination can bring back to its walls the costly decorations then in fashion in the "bowers" of the most peerless dames, it would present a lodging that many ladies of the present day would be very well satisfied with.² Beyond the queen's chamber is an ante-room, uniform in size with the other; and beyond this two smaller chambers, used most probably as guard-rooms; from the

¹ There were, however, several "risings" in Wales subsequently to the birth of Edward of Cærnarvon, during the reign of his father, in which many of the Welsh barons were concerned.

² MISS STRICKLAND (*Queens of England*, vol. ii. p. 164, 2d Edition) has been misled by her authority in her repulsive description of the birth-place of Edward of Cærnarvon. Queen Eleanor's chamber was by no means "the little dark den" there represented, nor was it "without a fire-place;"—there still exists a rather capacious one, apparently coeval with the building. All who are familiar with the ancient homes of England, must have observed the bountiful provision our ancestors were in the habit of making for fire-side comfort.

most remote, steps descend to a passage leading to the King's Tower, while the ante-room leading to the queen's chamber affords a convenient entrance to her state apartments in the Eagle Tower.

The royal infant was christened Edward after his father, and named of Cærnarvon from the place of his birth.¹ Although he was not his first son,² the king appears to have been much gratified by the intelligence of his birth, presenting the messenger with most gratifying tokens of his munificence;³ he also held a tournament, or festival of "the Round Table," on a magnificent scale, in a convenient place in the neighbourhood, where not only the great men of England and Wales, but many distinguished knights from abroad, came to assist in the entertainment.⁴ The royal infant remained breathing the invigorating air of the mountains for at least twelve months,⁵ and also appears to have enjoyed the benefit of a Welsh nurse.⁶ As his elder brother Alphonso died in the following August, no doubt every attention was paid to his health during his early childhood. Another death shortly followed, which increased the brilliant prospect thus early opened upon him. Alexander the Third, king of Scotland, having been killed by a fall from his horse on the 19th of March, 1285,⁷ and Edward, the most politic prince in Europe, discovering that his successor was his infant granddaughter, the only issue of his daughter Margaret and her husband Eric, king of Norway, resolved to

¹ MATTH. WESTMONASTERIENSIS, *Flores Historiarum, præcipue de Rebus Britannicis, ab exordio mundi usque ad annum 1307*, fol. 411, n. 50.

² HENRY (*History of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 73, edit. 1814) leaves the reader to suppose that Edward of Cærnarvon was the King of England's eldest son, but at his birth he had an elder brother named Alphonso living, and he was the fourth son of his father.

³ Pennant says that he knighted his informant, and conferred on him a considerable grant of lands.

⁴ THOM. WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Regum Angliæ*.

⁵ MAT. WEST. fol. 412, n. 13.

⁶ This we learn from the Household Book of Edward II., where there is an entry of the sum of twenty shillings presented by the king to his nurse, Mary of Cærnarvon, who had travelled from Wales for the express purpose of once more beholding him.

⁷ BUCHAN. RER. SCOT. lib. vii. f. 85. Edinburgh, 1582.

make a match between this child, "Margaret of Norway," as she was called, and his own heir, Edward of Cærnarvon. He found that no time was to be lost to obtain so desirable a union, as the leading men of Scotland had met at Scone for the settlement of the succession. By them six guardians were appointed to rule the kingdom in the name of the infant Margaret. The king of England apparently determined to use every exertion to secure the object he had in view, despatched ambassadors to the guardians to demand the lady Margaret as a wife for his son;¹ but as the little pair were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, the maid of Norway being the granddaughter of the king of England's sister, and therefore the cousin-german of the prince, he sent to Rome to procure a dispensation from the pope.² As soon as Edward obtained an answer from Scotland, he wrote to the king of Norway, requesting his assistance in the affair he had so much at heart, at the same time acquainting him with the gratifying information he had just learned, that at a general meeting of the States of Scotland his proposal had been unanimously agreed to.³ The king of Norway, also, entered into his views, and sent commissioners to meet others appointed by the guardians of Scotland, at Salisbury on the 26th of October, to arrange the conditions on which this important business was to be settled. By an instrument preserved amongst the Patent Rolls, it appears that the Norwegians agreed that the maid of Norway should come to England or Scotland before the ensuing feast of All Saints. Edward agreed that when Scotland was tranquil, and the Scots required her presence, and would give security to him and the king of Norway they would not marry her without their approval, he would send her to them free from

¹ BUCHAN. RER. SCOT. lib. vii. f. 86. Edwardus, Anglorum rex, gnarus suæ sororis neptem regis Norwegiæ filiam unam ex Alexandri posteris esse superstitem eandemque regni Scotorum legitimam hæredem, legatos ad eam deposcendam filio suo uxorem in Scotiam misit.

² ROT. PAT. 17 EDW. I. m. 3. The Patent Rolls of this date have been published by the Record Commission.

³ Ibid. m. 4.

all contract of marriage. The Scottish commissioners agreed to give such security, and professed themselves desirous she should come and dwell amongst them as their true lady, queen and heiress; and another condition provided for the removal of suspected members of the Scottish commission, and that the English commissioners should settle any dispute arising between their Scottish and Norwegian coadjutors. The seals were set to this agreement, which was dated at Salisbury on the 6th of November, 1289, and the parties separated to meet again at Roxburgh at Midlent, in the forthcoming year. After this the king despatched letters to the lords and commons of Scotland, to require them to afford every assistance to the government of the guardians;¹ and the more completely to gain their assent to the union, he entered into a solemn agreement, signed and sealed July 18, 1290: I. That the Scots should possess, use, and enjoy, their own laws, liberties, and customs, as they had done hitherto; II. That if Edward and Margaret should die without heirs, the crown of Scotland should revert to the next heir of the royal family of Scotland; III. That the kingdom of Scotland might remain distinct in itself, with a government unconnected with that of England, as it had been before time; to this condition Edward insisted on adding a clause—*saving his right previous to this treaty*; IV. Provides for the government of the church in Scotland; and V. That parliaments should not be held out of the kingdom.² To these conditions Edward was bound by his oath, and by the penalty of 100,000*l.* sterling to the pope, to be employed in advancing the cause of Christianity in the Holy Land; and he promised at his own expense to procure the pope's confirmation of these articles within a year after the marriage of Edward and Margaret. The letters patent of confirmation of this arrangement received the king's seal at Northampton, August 28th, and the same day king Edward appointed the bishop of Durham to the office of lieutenant in Scotland to the

¹ ROT. PAT. 17 EDW. I. m. 3, 4.

² IBID. 18 EDW. I. m. 8, 9.

infant pair, to govern the country with the advice of the guardians, prelates, and great men, according to the laws and customs of the kingdom; those who held the castles and strongholds covenanting to restore them when the queen and her husband took up their residence in Scotland.¹

This juvenile marriage unfortunately was destined to proceed no farther, for the Maid of Norway died on her passage to England.² Her death was a severe affliction to Scotland, for from that period commenced a struggle for the vacant throne which for many years made death and desolation familiar to the country, and gave occasion for the armed interposition of the kings of England. It is not very probable that her loss was much felt by her intended husband; but about the same time death deprived him of a lady more closely allied to him, which must have affected him considerably. This was the gentle Elcanor, his excellent mother. He was now six years of age, and appears to have got over the diseases of childhood very favourably, though such a result is hardly to be expected from the practice of his physician, Gaddesden, author of the "*Rosa Anglorum*," who, when the prince was attacked with the small-pox, not only had him wrapped in scarlet cloth, but took the most scrupulous care that every thing which could meet his eye should be of the same colour; and this was the common custom to prevent the patient being marked by the disease.

It is not to be supposed that the king paid much attention to his son at this early period of his life. Such was the disturbed state of society at the close of the thirteenth century, that he was either actively engaged in warfare, or quite as actively preparing for it. Both at home and abroad there seemed to be always plenty of this kind of work carved out for him;³ and as

¹ These transactions are to be found recorded in the Patent Rolls preserved in the Tower of London, as published by the Record Commission. *CALENDARIUM ROTULORUM PATENTIUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI*, fol. 1802.

² *ROT. PARL.* 18 EDW. I. m. 89. The Parliament Rolls of this date have been published by the Record Commission.

³ The state of England may be gathered from the following outrage

soon as he had contrived to bring his differences to a settlement in one place, he was called to repress the disorders that had broken out in another. In this way he was continually varying the field of his warlike operations, proceeding from Scotland to Wales, and from Wales to France, as the shout of defiance was raised in either country.¹ From these grounds it

committed by "a gentleman" of those days. A joust was proclaimed to be held at Botolph's Tower at Boston, in the fair time, whereof one part of the jousts came as challengers in the habit of monks, the other as defendants in the habit of canons. Both these sorts of jousts had covenanted, after the jousts, to spoil the fair; for achieving whereof they fired the town in three several places, on the morrow after St. James's day, that they might more freely spoil and sack the residue; and whilst the merchants were busy to save their goods and quench the fire, they were slain down by the said jousts and their partakers. By their firing the Black Friars' church was burnt, and almost the whole town, so that it was said streams of gold, and other metals molten, ran into the sea; as it was moreover said, that all the money in ready cash within England would scarcely recompense the loss therein sustained. The captain of which mischief was Robert Chamberlaine, Esquire, who was afterwards hanged, but would never confess his fellows.—Stow, p. 203.

¹ A good deal of information as to the state of England at this period may be gained from a perusal of the Wardrobe Account of Edward I.:—"*Liber quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobe, Anno Regni REGIS EDWARDI I. vicesimo octavo A.D. 1299 et 1300. Ex codice MS. in Biblioth. cu sua asservato Typis edidit. Soc. Antiq. Londinensis.*"

The twelve heads into which this account is divided are, I. Money distributed in alms and oblations; II. Necessaries bought and provided for the household; III. Victuals and stores for the household, and for the army in Scotland; IV. Gifts and rewards by the king and queen. Reimbursements for horses killed or dead in the service, and maintenance of prisoners; V. Annual fees to knights of the king's household in lieu of wages; Wages of bannerets and knights of the household, and foreign soldiers; VI. Wages of engineers, archers, serjeants-at-arms, esquires, with their attendants and horses, in the Scotch wars; VII. Wages of foot soldiers, crossbow-men, and artificers; VIII. Wages of seamen, expenses of messengers; IX. Wages of the king's falconers and huntsmen; X. Money allowed to bannerets, knights, clerks, and others of the household, for summer and winter garments; XI. Account of plate and jewels bought within the year; XII. Account of cloths, furs, wax, spices, electuaries, the separate expenses of the queen's household, and wines, and the costs and charges of the Chancery, and the fee of the chancellor.

	£	s.	d.
The payments contained in this book amount to ..	53,178	15	0
The expenses of the household in a separate account	10,969	16	0
Total ..	64,148	11	0
The Receipts ..	58,155	16	0

This is followed by a short review of the contest between England and Scotland, and of the motives which induced Edward I. to engage in it; the siege of Carlaverock forming one of the principal events. The general view

would appear as if the condition of the motherless boy approached closely to that of an orphan. His father, however, did occasionally take some notice of him—that is to say when it seemed particularly expedient. An instance occurred during the arrangement of a treaty of alliance between himself and Guy, earl of Flanders, of which one of the items was, that Edward, the king's eldest son, so soon as he was of age, should marry Philippa, daughter of the Earl of Flanders, if the match was not hindered by the French king, by her death, or by any other occasion that might happen. If the marriage should be prevented, then the prince was to marry the earl's other daughter, Isabel, and this union was to be performed without molestation from Edward, the pope, or any other person. This document was dated at Ipswich, on the 7th of January, 1296.

The heir of England had very little occasion for a wife; but a good course of instruction would have been invaluable to him. Less attention, however, was paid to his intellectual wants than to securing him a fit alliance, and the inference is unavoidable that only as a political engine was any cognisance taken of his existence. But the time was arriving when Edward of Cærnarvon was to claim his place in the public eye. His father was about proceeding to France, where his presence was much required to prevent his Continental possessions falling into the hands of the French king; but, before he commenced his journey, he thought it advisable to make his peace with the archbishop of

of the Record is followed by an abstract of some more striking particulars, such as coinage, prices of provisions, alms and oblations, private alms, donations, list of religious communities, the king's and queen's household, necessary expenses, arts, writings and records, games of chance, hounds and hawks, messengers and letters, apparel, plate and jewels, military matters, fortification, the navy, the most considerable personages, whether royal, noble, ecclesiastical, &c., the king's progress, with dates, and a geographical index. There are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries similar accounts of the tenth, eleventh, and eighteenth years of Edward II., which, together with those printed, were presented to them by Sir Ashton Lever. Mr. Astle possessed a complete account of the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Edward II., and several belonging to subsequent reigns are preserved in public and private libraries.

Canterbury, with whom he had quarrelled, in consequence of his severe measures affecting the clergy.¹ The reconciliation,² a very striking scene, took place in Westminster Hall, where the king, in the presence of his son, the venerable prelate, and the earl of Warwick, with tears in his eyes, asked pardon of the people, who had collected in considerable numbers, saying, "That he had ruled them, not so well as one who was their sovereign should have done. And for such portion of their estates as they had bestowed upon him, or which his ministers had extorted from them, he had only accepted it for this purpose, that, they quietly enjoying the remainder, he might more completely subdue aM who thirsted for the blood of the English." And then, very much excited, he added, "Behold, I am ready to expose my person for your sake; and I only desire that in my absence you would look upon me as if I were present, and if I return I will restore whatever has been taken away; but if I do never come back again, you may crown my son king."

The archbishop, moved to tears at this ebullition of feeling in his monarch, vouched for the king's sincerity, and the people, sharing his emotion, held up their hands, declaring their fidelity. All promised obedience to him and his son, and the king, desiring their prayers, took his leave of them. Shortly afterwards, on the 1st of August, 1297,³ a great council was held in London, when his views in favour of the young prince were made known in a very decisive and satisfactory manner by his making the principal barons swear fealty to the youth, and recognise him as heir to the crown. The young prince was soon called upon to enter upon the duties of lieutenant of the kingdom in his father's absence, to which he had been appointed previous to his departure, by holding a parliament on

¹ ROT. CLAUS. 25 EDW. I. m. 9. The Close Rolls of this date have been published by the Record Commission. WALTER HEMINGFORD, *Chron. Reg. Edwardi I. et II.*

² MAT. WESTMONAST. *Flores Hist.*

³ THOM. WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Regum Angliæ, ad an. 1298.*

the 26th of September.¹ He had, as coadjutors in the government, the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord Reginald de Gray; and a difficult government it was likely to prove, for several influential nobles were so discontented with the king's measures that they had entirely removed themselves from court, and their breaking into open hostility did not seem improbable. Among these was the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal, and the Earl of Hereford, the constable of England,² two potent barons, whose opposition to the young lieutenant was to be avoided, especially as the Scots had appeared in force under Sir William Wallace, and had defeated Hugh de Cressingham,³ the king's treasurer for Scotland, on whom they had fallen whilst with his men carelessly passing a narrow bridge. The prince's counsellors advised that the discontented lords should be invited to London to assist in the defence of the kingdom. With some reluctance, they answered the summons, but they did not do so without bringing with them an army of their own.⁴ They provided for their security as soon as they entered London, and the council, anxious to conciliate them, took measures to satisfy their grievances. The prince issued a pardon for their offences, which the king afterwards ratified, and all differences having been settled satisfactorily, they proceeded with the prince, with their forces to chastise the Scots; and the army penetrated into Scotland as far as Berwick,⁵ but were there brought to a halt by intelligence from the king to the effect that, having settled his affairs abroad he was on his way to take the com-

¹ ROT. CLAUS. 25 EDW. I. m. 6, Dors.

² Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. See HEYLYN'S *Help to English History*.

³ The barbarities of the Scots were of the most horrible description in their wars against the English. According to a MS. chronicle in the Cotton Library, after their attack upon de Cressingham, they found his body amongst the slain, flayed it, and when the skin had been tanned, made it into horse-furniture. Under Wallace they made terrible havoc in Northumberland.—HEN. DE KNIGHTON, *De Eventibus Angliæ*, 2519. Numerous papers illustrative of the Scottish wars are preserved in the Scottish Rolls. ROTULI SCOTIÆ, vol. i. Published by the Record Commission; but there is a blank in the series from 1319 to 1327, and another from 1327 to 1333.

⁴ KNIGHTON, 2523.

⁵ Ibid. 2525.

mand of the Scottish expedition. This he soon did, and to some purpose. Wallace was met at Falkirk at the head of a fine army, and after a sharp fight, his forces were dispersed, about 20,000 being left dead on the field, and their leader forced to become a fugitive.¹ The king continued his march, committing great havoc as far as Perth, but, for want of supplies, found it necessary to return to England.²

A parliament was summoned to meet on the first Monday in Lent, 1298,³ to take into consideration the treaty of peace the king had concluded with the king of France. In this there were two conditions that affected his son,—one, that king Edward should marry Margaret, the sister of the king of France; and the other, that at a convenient time Prince Edward should marry Isabel, the daughter of the French king, who was not yet seven years of age.⁴ The treaty received the consent of parliament, and preparations were made for the royal marriages; the lady Margaret arrived in England in September, and her nuptials took place on the 12th of that month, with a very magnificent ceremonial;⁵ but, although some measures had been taken for the prince's marriage by proxy, it was, after due consideration, deferred for the present. The prince shared in the wedding festivities, and soon after accompanied his father in another campaign against the Scots, who seemed determined to give the king of England sufficient trouble; during which he was present at the reading of an extraordinary bull from the pope, claiming the kingdom of Scotland as belonging to the Church of Rome,⁶ the pontiff having been persuaded to put forth this preposterous claim by certain parties in Scotland, whose object appears to have been to prevent their country falling into the power of the

¹ WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Regum Angliæ*. The loss of the Scots is variously stated, WALSHINGHAM estimating it at 60,000; NICHOLAS PREVET (*Chronicon*), 20,000; and two other contemporary chronicles (*Chron. Joh. Eversden* and *Chron. Monast. de Norwic.*) state it at 15,000.

² *Annales de Abingdon*.

³ ROT. CLAUS. m. 18. Dors.

⁴ WALSHINGHAM.

⁵ HEMINGFORD, tom. i. p. 168. RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. ii. p. 817.

⁶ *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 844.

king of England. The king seems to have treated this interference with exemplary patience, referring the matter to the consideration of parliament.¹

Edward of Cærnarvon was now making advances towards manhood. That his education had been very imperfect, there is too much reason to believe. Nothing satisfactory has been handed down to us that shews a proper cultivation of his morals or intellect. His father had no time during his incessant wars to see that he was properly instructed, and there is good grounds for believing that as little judgment was shewn in the choice of his son's companions as care in his education. The few passages bearing on the subject from contemporary authorities afford no insight into the system of instruction it was thought necessary to pursue.² He may have gone through the usual routine, yet from the result it would seem there must have been as much negligence in the learning as in the teaching. But he was now in his fifteenth year, and his royal father saw the necessity of making some provision for him. It was considered not to be just or proper that the heir of a great kingdom should have no more state than the son of a noble. After due consideration, the king came to the determination of investing his son with the government of the principality of Wales, with the title of prince,³ together with the earldom of Chester, and its lands, tenements, and revenues.⁴ This was done accordingly with great state

¹ MATT. WESTMONAST. *ad hunc ann.*

² In the Household Book of Edward I. 1298, there is an entry of two shillings given to Maud Makejoy for dancing before the prince in the king's hall at Ipswich. This is an early indication of his delight in those frivolous amusements to which he afterwards devoted himself. Dr. Walter Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury—before he attained high church preferment—has the reputation of having been the instructor of this prince. In the reign of his pupil he obtained the highest offices in the state (PHILPOT'S *Catal. Treasurers and Chancellors*, p. 24), but he does not appear to have been either a great or a good man.

³ Polydor Virgil mentions this circumstance in the following words:—“*Lincolniam venit; eodem loco concilium habetur, quo in concilio, ut populo generatim gratum faciat, Mag. Chart. confirmat. Ea res, ita devexit popul. ut xv. partem prædior. unius an. concedant. Et Edw. Regis filius fit princeps Walliæ et comes Cestriæ.*”—POLYDORI VIRGILII, *Hist. Angliæ.*

⁴ These possessions were very extensive, as may be seen in the

in the year 1301, and the young prince was shortly afterwards despatched to take possession of his government with a well-appointed household and well-selected officers.¹ A wiser proceeding could scarcely have been thought of, for by giving the Welsh the appearance of a court of their own, they were so gratified, that they came in crowds to express their devotion to their youthful prince, and, instead of idling his time about, without occupation or object, he found himself clothed with authority and possessed of dignity, with responsibilities, duties, and studies, to which he might devote himself with a certainty of their being to his honour and profit.²

These honours were the immediate forerunners of others, for in a charter, about three years later, he is styled "Edwardus illustris, Regis Angliæ filius, Princeps Walliæ, Comes Cestriæ, Pontivi et Montistrolli;" and some authors have asserted that soon after the earldom of Cornwall had fallen into the king's hands by the death of Edmund Plantagenet, he conferred it upon his son, and also created him Duke of Aquitaine

Charter Roll of the 29th year of Edward I., and consisted of all the king's lands in Wales, except the castle and town of Montgomery, which formed part of the dower of queen Margaret, for him and his heirs to hold in as ample a manner as the king held them, and by the same service the king had held them of his father. The excepted town and castle was also granted the prince shortly afterwards, as appears by a Charter Roll of the same year.

¹ The town house of Edward of Cærnarvon is stated to have been the Savoy. The princes of Wales, his predecessors, had a fair mansion in the neighbourhood of the Tower. The site was long afterwards known as Petty Wales.—Stow, *Survey of London*. Edited by W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A., p. 52. They were at one time lodged at Islington.

² MS. of the Princes of Wales says, "King Henry dying, this Prince Edward became king by the name of King Edward the First, who, having overcome Lewlyn, the last prince of Wales of the Brittain or Welsh blood, and thereby making a full and formall conquest of that kingdome; hee then settled it in a perfect peace, annexing and uniting the same to the crowne of England, deviding some parts thereof into shires and hundreds, and established there the lawes of England, placing justices of peace for the government of that people. And in the twelfth year of his raigne appointed his sonne Edward, born at Carnarvon a feue daies before, to be their prince, causing the barons and great men of Wales to do him homage. And after about the 28 yere of his raigne, as Stowe and others write, gave unto the said prince the whole principallite of Walls and the sardome of Cæster."

and Guienne.¹ No trace, however, of these creations is to be found in the Close Roll, in which he is summoned to parliament,² therefore, if conferred at all, which is very doubtful, he must have received them subsequently. One distinction, and a very important one, still remained: this was knighthood, which, as soon as the prince was thought old enough to know its duties, the king chose should be conferred with a most imposing solemnity; and the warlike aspect of the kingdom, consequent upon the threatening proceedings in Scotland, where Robert de Bruce had commenced his gallant career, though, unfortunately for his reputation, with a most lamentable act—stabbing his competitor for the Scottish crown in the church at Dumfries—allowed him many facilities for making the ceremony unusually impressive. He published a proclamation throughout England, stating, that all such persons as were obliged to become knights, either by succession, or for their estates, should appear in Westminster at the feast of Pentecost, where they would be allowed the usual military accoutrements—except those for their horses—from the king's wardrobe. This produced such effect, that 300 young gentlemen, sons of distinguished nobles and knights, received scarlet cloth, fine linen, and belts embroidered with gold. It was found that the king's palace was not sufficiently commodious to receive all who were desirous of assisting

¹ *Treatise concerning the Dignities, &c. which have been granted by the several Kings of England for the honour and maintenance of the Princes, their Eldest Sons.*—P. 7. 4to. 1737.

² “Rex Edwardo Principi Walliæ, et Comiti Cestriæ, filio suo charissimo. Quia parliament. quod nuper statuerimus tenend. London in instanti festo sancti Michaelis, prout literæ nostræ vobis et aliis inde direct. plenius continebant; quibusdam de causis usque in crastinum festi sancti Edwardi proximo futur. duximus prorogand. Ideo vobis mandamus in fide et homagio, quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungend. quod prædicto parliament. in dicto crastino apud Westmonasterium omnibus aliis prætermisissis personaliter intersitis, et hoc nullatenus omitatis. Test. Rege apud Lewes 13^o. die Septembris.” BURKE (*Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage*, 1842, p. 19) states that Edward of Carnarvon was created prince of Wales soon after his birth; and DOBB (*Manual of Dignities, Privilege, and Precedence*, 1842, p. 560) falls into the still greater error of giving the date of his birth as that of his creation.

in this splendid ceremonial, which caused measures to be taken that convey a singular idea of the heart of London at this period. The apple-trees in the orchard of the New Temple were cut down to allow of sufficient space for erecting pavilions for the use of the 300 aspirants for the honours of chivalry, who kept their vigils in the Temple Church; the prince of Wales, with a few select associates, by his father's commands, keeping his in Westminster Abbey.¹

At a convenient hour in the morning, in the midst of a glorious assembly of the bravest and noblest in the land, and honoured by the presence of the queen and the ladies of the court, the brave youths received from the hand of their sovereign, with the customary forms, the distinction so highly prized—the prince obtaining in addition the title of duke of Aquitaine. After he had gained the desired honour, he hastened back to the Abbey to bestow it upon his companions. There he found the crowd so great that he was obliged to stand upon the high altar to perform the ceremony.² This done, they all hurried to the palace, and in their presence the king made a solemn vow before two swans, which were introduced with much chivalric solemnity, that he would presently advance into Scotland, to revenge the death of the lord John Comyn, and to punish the perfidious Scots, adjuring the prince and all the distinguished men there present, by their allegiance, if his dissolution should take place before his journey, to transport his body with them into Scotland, and there keep it unburied until his successor had completely overpowered the Bruce and his adherents. This address made a deep impression upon the greater portion of that gallant assembly, numbers of them starting forward to express their readiness to march with the prince and fulfil the king's commands, with the like devotion whether he were alive or dead; and the prince and

¹ An account of the institution of knighthood, with its various ceremonies and entertainments, as they existed in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, will be given in the second volume of this work.

² MATT. WESTMONAST. p. 457.

his young companions swore, by God and the swans, they would do all the king wished.¹

In the invasion of Scotland, which followed so soon after, the prince of Wales obtained a separate command; but before the king could come up, Robert de Bruce, after a determined resistance, was totally discomfited by the Earl of Pembroke, his camp and baggage captured, his army dispersed with great slaughter, and himself, only by a rapid flight and a strict concealment, saving his life.² The prince preceded the king with a powerful force, attended by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford,³ and he marched triumphantly through the kingdom, penetrating even to the remote Highlands, taking in his route the strong castle of Kildrommey, where he captured Christopher Seton, Bruce's brother-in-law, and one of his sisters, whom he sent prisoners to Dumfries, and directed his march to St. Johnstone. The king at this time was receiving the submission of such of the Scottish nobility as had not committed themselves in the late transactions. While in this neighbourhood, Robert de Bruce made proposals to the prince, offering to come to him to negotiate a treaty if allowed a safe conduct.⁴ This communication speedily came to the ears of his father, who was so incensed with the Bruce, that he gave his son a sharp reprimand for holding correspondence with such a traitor⁵ without his knowledge. The prince seems, on this, to have acted with remarkable prudence, for he directly marched to the king at Dumferline, where the bishops of St. Asaph and Glasgow had been taken a short time previously, wearing military armour under their religious robes,⁶ and succeeded in satisfactorily explaining his conduct. The campaign did not continue much longer, for Edward's vigorous measures brought

¹ MATT. WESTMONAST. p. 458.

² WALSHINGHAM, p. 91. HEMINGFORD, tom. i. p. 222.

³ *Scale Chronicon*.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ In all the documents illustrating the Scottish wars of this period issuing from the King of England, the name of Robert de Bruce is rarely met without some such epithet attached to it.

⁶ MATT. WESTMONAST.

all Scotland into subjection, or rather into the appearance of it, for this warlike king and his successors found very little dependence to be placed upon the general submission the terror of their arms obtained from their northern neighbours, for on the first favourable opportunity they were sure to revolt; and the repetition of this proceeding brought on them many hard names and much severe punishment. Nevertheless, short as the campaign was, the prince acquitted himself with gallantry before he returned with his father into England; and had but proper attention been paid to keep him to those honourable pursuits in which his youth ought to have been engaged, there is little reason to doubt his career would have been worthy of his lineage. Unfortunately, sufficient care was not taken at this critical period of his life to keep from him unworthy associates; one of his companions, with whom he had been brought up from a child, being a very profligate character, whose example produced the most fatal results on his mind and heart.

The person here alluded to was Piers de Gavestone, the son of a Gascon gentleman, remarkably accomplished, handsome in his person, and agreeable in his manners, who had contrived to obtain a most mischievous ascendancy over the prince. He led him into all sorts of discreditable excesses, and in his society he contracted that taste for low company and vulgar amusements which subsequently brought his name into such contempt. Already public attention had been directed to these unworthy proceedings, but they had not arrived at that point of reckless audacity which called for interference. Edward of Caernarvon had evidently better tastes and better principles than such an association denotes. He is frequently found playing a conspicuous part in the warlike entertainments his father encouraged. In the Wardrobe Account of Edward the First, Robinett, the king's tailor, claims his expenses for a hundred and eighty-one days' residence in London,—“*pro armaturis Domini Edwardi filii Regis,*” &c.;¹ and in the *Statuta de Armis*, called

¹ *Liber quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobe, &c.*

also *Statuta Armorum in Torniamentis*, the prince is mentioned first amongst those appointed by the king as judges for the due observances of the laws of the tournament, and for the punishment of offenders.¹

Probably the extraordinary skill of Piers de Gavestone in martial exercises, in which he greatly excelled, rendered the king for some time inattentive to statements to his prejudice; but he was engaged with the prince in an outrage which so excited the king's indignation, that longer impunity became impossible. It appears that he and other riotous young men, with the prince of Wales in their company, committed a forcible trespass into the park of Walter Langton, bishop of Lichfield, and caused considerable havoc amongst his deer. The offenders were taken into custody, and when one of the judges passed sentence upon them, the prince abused him, and behaved with such disgraceful violence,² that his father determined to bring him to a proper sense of his misconduct. Some authors assert that he was imprisoned with his accomplices; but the most trustworthy state that he was banished from the court, and not allowed to enter the king's presence till he had begged pardon for his offences.³ The matter did not end here. The prince's disorderly associates were dismissed from all attendance upon him, and Piers de Gavestone was banished the kingdom on the 26th of February, 1307; he being obliged, before he sailed from Dover, to take an oath, before the consecrated host, the ancient cross, and many of the king's most holy relics,⁴ that he would never

¹ "E sil avent q'e nul conte ou baron, ou autre chivaler, voyse encontre cest estatut p' le assente le comaundemt n're Seign' Sire Edward, fiz le Rey, e Sir Edmond, frere le Rey, e Sire Willeme de Valence, e Sire Gilbt. le Clare, e le Cunte de Nichole, q'e celi Chivaler, q'e issint sra trove en forfetaunt en nul poynt encontre le estatut, seyt encurru cele peyne, q'e il perde chival e armes, e demeorge en p'son, a la volunte de avaütdiz Sire Edward, Sire Edmund, e le autres."—MEYRICKE'S *Critical Enquiry into Ancient Armour*. Fol. vol. i. p. 152.

² *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, vol. i. p. 256. Published by the Record Commission.

³ Matthew of Westminster and Adam de Muremuth describe their disreputable proceedings. TYRRELL, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 176.

⁴ "Sur le cors Dieu, sur la croiz neitz, e sur les autres reliques

return without the king's leave; the prince, at the same time and in the same manner, swearing he would not harbour Piers de Gavestone unless with the king's permission. The exile was allowed, for his subsistence beyond sea so long as he stayed there, a hundred marks per annum out of the revenues of Gascony, to be increased or diminished by the king as he thought fit.

Little time was given the thoughtless prince to recover the good opinion he had lost, for, unfortunately for England, a few months afterwards the king died,¹ on his way once more to reduce to obedience his intractable enemies the Scots, who, under Robert de Bruce, were again making a desperate struggle for independence. It is said that the king addressed his son with his dying breath, giving him much excellent advice respecting his conduct, and making him renew his oath to carry his body with the army till the subjection of Scotland had been effected; but as the prince did not arrive at Burgh on the Sands, where the heroic king breathed his last in the arms of his faithful attendants, till some days after his decease, the story must be a fabrication.

Edward of Cærnarvon now found himself the undisputed possessor of the throne of England, and, what was equally appreciated by him, his own master. The death of the old king had been concealed by his attendants until their new monarch arrived.² When he learned the intelligence, he shewed no disposition to fulfil the oath he had so solemnly taken before God and the swans. The body of the deceased monarch, instead of accompanying the advance of the invading army into the heart of Scotland, was sent to Waltham, there to await further orders.³ The new king did cer-

nostre Seigneur le Roy."—ROTULI CLAUS. 25 Edw. I. m. 13, Dors. See, also, RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. ii. n. 1043.

¹ He died on the 7th of July. WALSINGHAM, p. 93. HEMINGFORD, tom. i. p. 237.

² *Annales de Abingdon*; and *Chronicon Monast. de Lanercost*. An elegant edition of the latter chronicle has been published by the Maitland Club, 1839.

³ *Ibid.*

tainly proceed some distance in the proper direction,¹ and might, perhaps, have commenced his reign with the most favourable impressions, had it not been for the arrival in his camp of the man whose appearance his best friends least desired. This was the banished Piers de Gavestone, who, knowing the influence he possessed over the weak-minded prince, had, immediately he obtained intelligence of the death of Edward the First, made extraordinary exertions to join him before other favourites could obtain the place in his affections he had been obliged to vacate. He reaped by this decision all the advantages he expected. The king was overjoyed to meet him, gave him a most affectionate reception, styled him his brother, created him earl of Cornwall, and presented him with the lordship of the Isle of Man. This impolitic conduct prejudiced the young monarch greatly in the minds of his most powerful barons; but he appeared contemptuously indifferent of the opinion of his subjects, great or humble, lavishing honours upon his favourite, and bestowing wealth as if he intended the young Gascon to be the sole recipient of his munificence. He presented him with the wardship of the person and estate of a minor, Gilbert, earl of Gloucester; he was allowed the possession of some of the crown jewels on which to raise money,² and is said to have been enriched by the hoards of the deceased king to the amount of 100,000*l.*;³ but it appears improbable that the latter died possessed of any thing like such a sum.

Equally objectionable was the king's severity to his late father's chancellor, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, whose offence was confined to the prosecution he had set on foot against the riotous trespassers on his park. The honest prelate was imprisoned in Wallingford Castle, and his lands and property confiscated.⁴ Whilst punishing de Gavestone's enemies,

¹ He appears to have proceeded as far as Dumfries, and to have received the submission of several Scottish lords. *Annal. Monast. S. Augustin.*

² *Chron. de Evesham.*

³ WALTER HEMINGFORD.

⁴ He was afterwards liberated through the intercession of the pontiff.

Edward continued to add to his wealth and consequence. The king's marriage had been arranged for several years, and now desiring its consummation as speedily as possible, he was preparing to go into France to claim his promised bride at the hands of her father. On the 26th of December, when the favourite was raised to the earldom of Cornwall, he was also promoted to the honourable office of lieutenant of the kingdom in the absence of the sovereign.¹ A most rash appointment, for it was one rarely bestowed upon a subject except he were the nearest prince of the blood, and was sure to give umbrage to his powerful barons, who saw the claims to such a distinction, their swords and warlike services had won for them, set aside to gratify a senseless partiality for a man without name or character.

The more completely to enjoy the society of his favourite, Edward had left the campaign in Scotland to be fought by the earl of Pembroke, who was, however, shortly superseded by John, earl of Brittany, a skilful commander who had the good fortune, soon after his appointment,* to obtain a victory over the forces of Robert de Bruce, which caused the latter once more to seek the security of his fastnesses.² But to the wants of his army the king gave so little attention that Bruce was allowed to recover himself, and in turn to become the assailant under the most advantageous circumstances.

An apology for Edward, in his supposed miserable mismanagement of the Scottish war after his father's death, has recently appeared in a work which it is only necessary to name to secure confidence as an historical authority of the highest value :—³

"A principle of honour, and the prospect of meeting an enemy," says the writer, "might have withheld the barons from deserting their new sovereign; but such influences were, of necessity, less powerful with the

¹ Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. II.

² MS. in *Bid. Bodleian*, quoted by TYRREL, vol. iii. p. 225.

³ *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, vol. xxviii. See an admirable paper on loans supplied by the Italian merchants to the kings of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

remainder of his followers. A war so long protracted, and prosecuted with such energy, was at that period almost unexampled. It appeared endless. Resistance became more and more strenuous; the invaded country had been repeatedly ravaged; and the brightest success would bring them little or no recompense. Long arrears were due to the army; the emptiness of the exchequer was no secret; and the effect of the death of the king, whom they feared and loved, must have been to dishearten them, and render them desperate of obtaining their dues. By what promises could the young king keep such troops united? Or, if in this he had succeeded, what ultimate results could he have looked forward to? But the enormous weight of his father's debts pressed upon him: temporary success was insufficient; a battle won would not remove his difficulties or satisfy the demands of his soldiers: and, although the resolution he formed in this dilemma wears to our eyes the character of weakness and timidity, it was apparently unavoidable. It certainly was followed by conduct which proved him possessed of much firmness and rectitude of principle, and to be not incapable of self-devotion. He discontinued a contest which he could only maintain, for a time, by the ruin of his followers, and retired to his capital, not, as has been charged against him, to yield himself to effeminate pleasures, but to submit to tedious restraints and self-denials in persevering efforts to satisfy the claims of his father's creditors. The Liberate Rolls of the first years of his reign abound with orders upon the exchequer in their favour. Independent of other payments, no less a sum than 118,000*l.* sterling was delivered to the keeper of the late king's wardrobe to pay off the debts incurred in his office.¹ At the same time 28,000*l.* were applied to the discharge of debts contracted by himself when Prince of Wales.² The law-officers and other higher servants of the crown now received arrears of salary which had been accumulating. There is on record a writ, dated in the second year, ordering payment of 8500*l.* sterling due to Gascons who had served Edward the First in the war in their own country.³ Deputies had for some time been in England pressing their demands; their daily expenses had been allowed them; and the circumstance affords an instance of the necessity there was at once to reduce the exorbitant rate of expenditure already too long continued. The exertions of the king were so warmly and steadily maintained that the bulk of the debts was discharged within the first six years of his reign, although orders on the exchequer for such payments are met with as late as the thirteenth year. The consideration of these circumstances may throw a new light upon the history of this period. It is not for me to trace their results: but the inquiry suggests itself, whether the early unpopularity of Edward the Second may not be attributed to another cause, not less powerful than that of his courtiers' jealousy of an undeserving favourite, to which it is commonly ascribed. The necessary retrenchments in the expenses of the household, and the economy enforced in all departments of government, must have been distasteful to the officers of the crown, whose interests were injured; the effect of a considerable diminution in the king's expenditure must have extended generally through the people: an unusual strictness must have been exercised in collecting the royal revenue, and can we wonder that anger and discontent were engendered in all classes?"⁴

¹ Rot. Lib. 2 Edw. II. mm. 4, 2.—3 Edw. II. m. 2.—4 Edw. II. m. 3.

² Ibid. 1 Edw. m.—2 Edw. II. mm. 6, 4, 3, 2.—3 Edw. II. m. 2.

³ Ibid. 2 Edw. II. m. 3.

⁴ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 247.

It is with much regret the author feels obliged to declare that he has searched records and chronicles in vain for confirmation of the favourable views of Edward of Cærnarvon's conduct at this period, Mr. Bond has here expressed. That certain payments were made to the Italian merchants,¹ there can be no question; but that the young king, in directing them to be made, and in abandoning the war in Scotland, was actuated by considerations so politic and noble-minded as are attributed to him in the foregoing extract, cannot so readily be proved. Of the real cause of Edward's early unpopularity, if the reader have not a tolerably clear conception of it already, the events which will be found impartially narrated in the following pages can scarcely fail to put him in possession.

The Christmas was passed in a round of pleasures, chiefly given in honour of the earl of Cornwall's marriage with the king's niece, Margaret, sister to the earl of Gloucester,²—another of Edward's extravagant

¹ In the fourth year, the Bardi received an order upon the Exchequer for 2000*l.*, which they had lent to forward certain important affairs of the king's. In the sixth year, 2000*l.* are paid to the Bardi, in compensation for losses sustained by delay in recovering the loans which the king had taken of them since his accession. In the same year, Antonio Pessagno, a Genoese, is commissioned to raise a loan for the king of 20,000*l.*—*Fædera*, vol. ii. p. 214. We learn, also, from the "*Fædera*," that, in the ninth year, the Bardi of Florence advanced money (it does not appear to what amount) upon a subsidy levied by the king upon his subjects in the Duchy of Guienne, and the issues of the same are assigned to them in payment (p. 296). In the tenth year, 7787*l.* are ordered to be paid the Bardi from the receipts of "the sixteenth" granted by the laity, and "the tenth" by the clergy. The sum had been lent by them to different persons, and on various occasions. In the same year, they have a bill upon the treasury for 4000 marks—the king's gift, in consideration of delay in the payment of his debts to them. In the eleventh year, Antonio Pessagno, of Genoa, is commissioned to raise a loan for the king of 20,000 marks, in Aquitaine, and to assign the issues of certain lands of the Duchy in payment.—*RYMER*, vol. ii. p. 346. In the fourteenth year, the Bardi received a portion of 2240*l.* which they had undertaken to pay to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, for his wages when he served Edward the First in the Scotch war. And in the seventeenth year, 3000 marks, in florins, were paid jointly by the Bardi, Scali, and Peruzzi, to the Constable of Bordeaux, on loan, for the king's business.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 253.

² Anonymous MS., quoted by *TYRREL*, vol. iii. p. 225. This author accuses the bridegroom of shrinking from a joust with the English nobles; but it is quite improbable, for Gavestone humbled his most powerful enemies by his superior skill in these exercises.

donations to the all-powerful favourite; the day of the nuptials in particular being distinguished by a magnificent tournament held at Wallingford, in which both the king and the earl displayed their lately acquired grandeur so equally, that it was difficult to say who was the most royal in his appearance. The bridegroom was accompanied by a numerous circle of friends, who, while they added to his state, added also to his safety; for, amongst the brilliant company drawn together on this occasion, there were many who looked upon the young Gascon, engrossing the favours of their sovereign, with an evil eye; which increased in malignancy by observing this ill-assorted marriage, and learning that, besides the fortune of the bride, the king had thought proper to enrich the already too wealthy minion by grants of the honours of Tickle, Berkhamstead, and other possessions of great value.

The young king kept his Christmas at the manor of Wye,¹—at that period belonging to the Abbot of Battle Abbey,—at so prodigious a cost, that such luxurious entertainments much excited the wonder of his subjects. He was at the same time preparing to cross the Channel, to bring into England the youthful Isabella of France, the preliminaries of his marriage with whom had already been settled. Before embarking from Dover, he signed the commission appointing the earl of Cornwall the lieutenant, or guardian, of the kingdom in his absence, with extraordinary powers over both ecclesiastical and lay property.² This patent is dated January 18th, 1308. He then took shipping, and, attended by a gay retinue of courtiers, passed over without accident to Boulogne, which was at the time crowded with brilliant company, Philip, king of France, having invited there a crowd of kings and queens, and sovereign princes, the bride's relatives, and the nobility and chivalry of France, to witness the marriage of his daughter with the king of England, and the public homage of the latter to him for the possessions he held as duke of Aquitaine and earl of Ponthieu. These solemnities were performed in the

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist. REG. Ang.*

² RYMER'S *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 47.—WALS. *Ypodig. Neustriæ*, p. 499.

cathedral of Boulogne, on the festival of the conversion of St. Paul;¹ and a series of the most sumptuous feasts and magnificent entertainments followed, in which the bride and bridegroom seemed deservedly to have become "the observed of all observers;" being universally judged to be the handsomest young couple in France. Edward of Cærnarvon was in the pride of manly beauty, so graceful in his deportment as to appear to great advantage in the bower even of a princess of France, and sufficiently accomplished in the use of arms to make a gallant appearance at the tournament amongst the most accomplished of French knights. Isabella had already gained the title of "the fair," though little more than thirteen years of age,—a title frequently bestowed by the French on members of their royal family. There was a difference of nearly ten years between them, although, from the development of the graces of the bride and the effeminate countenance of the bridegroom, they seemed to the spectator to be nearly of the same age.

Having sufficiently received the admiration of the united courts of England and France, they embarked for England on the 7th of February, and landed the same day at Dover, where preparations to receive the youthful queen had been made by order of the earl of Cornwall. The nobles of Edward flocked to shew her welcome and do her honour; but the king, taking no notice of them, rushed into the arms of his favourite as soon as he got on shore, calling him brother, and making the most extravagant demonstrations of his satisfaction at beholding him.² Among the displeased spectators of this act of folly, were Charles, count de Valois, and Louis de Clermont, count d'Evreux, the queen's uncles, who had accompanied her, with several of her distinguished countrymen, from France; nor, young as was Isabella, did she observe it without visible dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, the infatuated monarch, heedless of all things but the gratification of his minion, continued, during the progress of the royal cavalcade to the noble palace of Eltham,³ to pay him the most

¹ WALS. *Hist. Reg. Angl.*

² *Chron. de Abingdon.*

³ Of this once magnificent royal residence little remains beyond a

flattering marks of attention. The court remained here while preparations were being made for the coronation of the king and queen. To this imposing ceremony, which was to take place at Westminster, the nobles and their ladies were summoned.¹ It seemed, however, very doubtful they would give their attendance, for the king's puerile attachment to Gavestone had at last raised such a storm of indignation amongst those most deeply insulted by it, that when they ascertained the folly of their monarch had gone so far as to present to him the magnificent marriage-gifts the bridegroom had received from the king of France, and that he was to have the entire arrangement of the coronation, they assembled together the day preceding the ceremony, and, after some discussion of the matter, proceeded to the king, and requested the immediate removal of the favourite from his councils. This the king instantly refused. But when the discontented lords threatened to prevent his coronation—a threat he was well aware they could perform—he was glad enough to allow of a compromise. On his pledging himself to come to a satisfactory arrangement of their complaints at the next parliament, provided they would throw no obstacle in the way of his coronation, they appeared satisfied.² Such satisfaction, however, was exceedingly short-lived.

The obnoxious favourite, during the ceremony, by his extravagant pride and ostentation, increased the number of his enemies. His appearance again far out-rivalled his sovereign; and as if still more to excite the ill feeling of the English nobles, he was allowed to carry the crown of St. Edward,—an honour that should have fallen only to one of the most exalted personages in the land.³ They stifled their indignation as well as they could, out of respect to their youthful queen; but

portion of the walls and a window. When the author examined it a few years back, the noble hall had been turned into a barn, and the subterranean passages, which are believed to have had their outlet at Blackheath, were choked up with rubbish, except about a hundred yards that had recently been excavated; and though this portion was seen under all the disadvantages of damp, dirt, and darkness, it left a powerful impression of the resources of the castellated mansion of the middle ages.

¹ RYMER *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 59.

² WALSHINGHAM.

³ *Chron. St. Augustin.*

could not refrain from enjoying a transient amusement at his expense, by embarrassing him in the performance of his duties as the arranger of this grand ceremonial. There was an immense assemblage of people collected to view the glittering spectacle, but so little order had been made for their accommodation, that some terrible accidents occurred in the press, and one knight was borne off his legs, trodden under foot, and killed ; the banquet, also, was so much delayed and so ill provided, that every one seemed uncomfortable and discontented.

Under these circumstances Edward and Isabella were crowned king and queen of England—circumstances which were so offensive to the young queen, that when in no very agreeable mood her kinsmen and friends took their departure, she despatched a letter to her father, made up of the bitterest complaints of her husband and his worthless associate. But before they left England they beheld a very impressive proof of the feeling with which this upstart was regarded by the great body of the nobility. A tournament having been announced to be held in London shortly after the coronation, the king became so alarmed, lest on so convenient an occasion his favourite should get roughly handled, that he commanded the city gates to be closed, to prevent the English and French nobles and knights, who were equally incensed against him, from collecting together.¹ This act drove the foreign knights out of England much before the day they had proposed to depart, and they went away deeply prejudiced against the weak-minded king.

Gavestone, instead of seeking to avert the storm, endeavoured to brave it, and became so insolent, that the earls of Lincoln, Hereford, and Pembroke, with the determination to chastise him, collected their followers and broke into the New Temple, where he resided ; but he had contrived to obtain intelligence of their designs, and removed himself, for greater security, to Wallingford Castle, before their arrival. The nobles were not so easily to be baffled. On finding the offender had escaped, they assembled at Ware, and marched thence to Northampton, summoning all the nobility and gentry

¹ *Chron. St. Augustin.*

of England to join them there, for the purpose of holding a council to deliberate on the affairs of the nation. So general was the prejudice against Gavestone, that the king, finding it impossible to raise a sufficient military power to oppose the barons, was forced to summon a parliament, to meet with all convenient speed. The parliament assembled accordingly, but before they proceeded to business, Edward, doubtless at the instigation of his unprincipled minion, wishing to divide the powerful confederacy that had shewn him his own weakness, proposed that the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Durham, with the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, should arrange all differences; but neither the spiritual nor lay peers would put themselves forward to save so worthless a person. They declined to act without the consent of the great body of the nobility, who were only to be contented by the banishment from the kingdom of the object of their dislike.¹ The king in vain strove to get more favourable terms,² but the only modification of the sentence of exile they would consent to, was the allowing Ireland to be his destination;³ to this, however, they would not agree without the security of a charter, which the king granted, to the following effect:—

“Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, to all who shall behold these presents, greeting, &c. We declare unto you, that from this time untill the day that the Lord Pierce de Gavestone is to abjure and depart our kingdom—to wit, on the nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing—we shall, as far as in us lies, do nothing, nor allow of any one attempting any thing, whereby the banishment of the said Lord Pierce may be any ways hindered or delayed, but that, according to the form ordained by the prelates, earls, and barons, of our kingdom, confirmed by us with our free consent, it may be fully perfected. In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Given at Westminster the 8th day of May, in the first of our reign.”⁴

Although this charter was publicly read before the parliament, the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other spiritual lords, thought proper to give a further proof of the feeling its object had exacted, by threatening Gavestone with all the pains and penalties of excommunication if he endeavoured to remain in Eng-

¹ *Chron. St. Augustin.*

² NICHOLAS TRIVET. *Cont.*

³ RAN. HIGDEN. *Polychronicon*.—ADAM DE MUREMUTH, *Chron.*

⁴ ROTULI CLAUS. 1 EDW. II. m. 8. Dors.

land beyond the day fixed for his banishment, the denunciation including whoever should attempt to afford him any assistance, or advise him to defer his departure, or should favour, advise, or procure his return from banishment.¹

The king found it impossible to resist the storm; but so little did he appear inclined to profit by the lesson he was being taught, that he accompanied the despised favourite to Bristol,² whence the latter embarked, more like a conqueror than an exile, for Ireland, over which country his thoughtless monarch appointed him governor, granting him the use of all the treasure it contained, and all the powers and privileges of a sovereign prince. That Gavestone possessed more than ordinary ability, his conduct during his government of Ireland evinces.³ Both his military and civil measures were crowned with success, and his exile appeared likely to be much more glorious than the movers of it anticipated. Had he been less greedy in monopolising the favours of the king, and less proud and contemptuous in his behaviour to his superiors, there is no doubt he might have obtained both wealth and distinction without giving offence.⁴

The king shewed an equal want of judgment in the crusade, which, at the instigation of his father-in-law, he commenced about the same time against the Knights Templars, a wealthy order of chivalrous monks, who had done good service in the wars against the enemies of Christianity.⁵ That abuses may have crept into their institution is highly probable, for it is scarcely to be expected, that a body of men vowed to live at variance with the established laws of nature, should be

¹ The king and queen are excepted, by the chronicle of Evesham, from this excommunication, which is ordered to be made known by all the bishops throughout their dioceses, and bears date Oxford, May 19, 1308.

² MON. MALMS. *Vita* EDWARDI II. p. 100.

³ DANIEL'S *Hist. of* EDW. II. WHITE KENNET, *bishop of Peterborough, Hist. of* England, vol. i. p. 204.

⁴ Gavestone had taken advantage of the prodigal generosity of his royal master to obtain immense estates, both in England and Gascony (RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 87), and he was accused of enriching himself in a still less creditable way.—TRIVET. *Contin.* p. 5.—HEMINGFORD, p. 245.

⁵ RAYNOUARD'S *Monumens Historiques relatifs à la Condamnation des Templiers*. Paris, 1813.

able to succeed in stifling the sweetest sympathies of humanity so completely as they promised to do,—the more especially as they maintained a prominent position in society, and lived in an atmosphere the least favourable to monastic obligations. They may have relaxed their rules, have even become notorious for arrogance and licentiousness, but the long tissue of extravagant follies and horrible crimes imputed to them could have existed only in the minds of those of their judges who beheld their guilt in their imputed wealth.¹ When Edward of Cærnarvon went to bring his young queen to England, his father-in-law, who had made a rich harvest by the persecution of the order in his kingdom, with the express sanction of the pope, took occasion to shew him what pretty pickings might be made in this way, and easily persuaded him of the lawfulness of fleecing and destroying the Templars. The lesson was not lost upon him. There were many establishments of the order in England, reputed to possess incalculable treasure. Those in London had, in a former reign, been forced to surrender its hordes,² and it was exceedingly convenient that they should be more closely squeezed by the present government. The example of the king of France, therefore, was followed by the king of England, and the Templars were summoned before ecclesiastical authorities, closely examined, and many cast into prison.

Robert de Bruce sagaciously took advantage of the troubles of England to pursue his career of conquest in Scotland,³ which Edward strove to prevent only by the inadequate means of negotiation. The latter succeeded occasionally in obtaining a truce, which, however, was but of little advantage to his subjects near the borders,

¹ Among the charges attempted to be brought against them, was that at their reception into the order each knight was obliged to deny the existence of the Saviour, to spit three times upon a crucifix, and to pay his devotions to a gilt wooden head with a great beard; but they were supported only by persons undeserving of credit, or by confessions wrung from intolerable sufferings. All the members worthy of any respect denied them throughout the most atrocious tortures, and at the moment of death still declared them to be falsehoods.

² Stow's *Survey*, edited by Thoms, p. 149.

³ *Chron. Lanercost.*

who suffered dreadfully from the plundering expeditions of the clans nearest to them. Bruce, much to the surprise of those who had heard the terrible anathemas launched against him for the murder of Comyn, found a zealous friend in the pope, who, besides granting him absolution for this crime, was so good as to use his influence to support him in the throne he had obtained, for which, those who assume to be best acquainted with the politics of Rome venture to assert he had lately had particular but not very creditable reasons.

Disinclined to business, and fatigued by remonstrances, advice, complaints, and applications, which were continually made to him, Edward found the deprivation of the society of Gavestone so irksome, that, after procuring from the pope absolution from his oath to observe his banishment,¹ he privately sent over for him to Ireland, and hearing he was about to return, immediately started to meet him, and about Midsummer, 1309,² received him at Chester, with more satisfaction than the most devoted lover could experience at an interview with the object of his affections after a long absence. Gavestone was again the monopoliser of his sovereign's favours. The barons looked upon the unprincipled disregard of the grave obligations their monarch had entered into, with universal displeasure. They had long refused to allow the favourite his title of earl of Cornwall, notwithstanding the king had issued a command to enforce it; and in the parliament of this year they publicly objected to his possessing so unwarranted a distinction, and to his remaining in England. Gavestone relaxed a little of his overbearing disposition,³ and contrived to disarm the resentment of some of his enemies by a liberal display of fair promises and specious excuses, but a considerable number were not so easily to be cajoled. They refused to attend the parliament at which he was present; and after he had returned to his ordinary course of insult and extravagance, they sent the king word, that

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 91.

² MON. MANS. p. 101.

³ DANIEL. In BISHOP KENNET'S *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 204.

unless the Gascon was driven out of the country, they would rise in arms against him as a perjured prince. This threat, says an old chronicle,¹ so far from having the desired effect, induced the headstrong monarch to apply to two powerful nobles in Gascony for an armed force with which to punish his nobles, but in passing through France they were so roughly handled by a detachment sent against them by the king of France, most probably at the instigation of his daughter, who hated the favourite with no small amount of detestation, that the Gascons gave up all idea of assisting the king of England and their fortunate countryman.

The reign of idle and profligate pleasure proceeded unchecked for some time,—banquets, tournaments, and other entertainments less excusable, followed in rapid succession,² in which Gavestone, finding himself again in possession of almost regal consequence, grew so insolent, that he affected to treat his most powerful opponents with derision, fixing on them ridiculous nick-names, the earl of Lancaster being called the Stage-Player, the earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew, and the earl of Warwick, the Black Dog of Ardenne. The consequence was, that the nobles began to take measures amongst themselves to punish the insulter as he deserved,³ for the thoughtless monarch would not even attend to the remonstrance of the pope's legate, who was in England at that time to demand the legacy the late king had bequeathed for the Holy Land.⁴ Edward at last summoned a great council, the meeting of which was deferred, both by the barons and the king, till they assembled at Westminster in Lent, 1310,⁵ where they impressed on their sovereign so strong a sense of their power, that he found himself obliged to submit to their establishing a commission for inquiring into the abuses of the government.⁶

¹ *Chron. de Dunst.*, cited by Stow.

² *Mon. Malm.* p. 103.

³ *Rymeri Fædera*, tom. iii. p. 208.

⁴ *Chron. de Dunst.*

⁵ *Rotuli Claus.* 3 Edw. II. m. 16. Dors.

⁶ The commissioners were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, St. David's, and Llandaff; the earls of Gloucester, Lancaster, Lincoln, Hereford, Pembroke, Richmond,

Whilst the commissioners were engaged in the prosecution of their duties, the king marched into Scotland with a powerful army,¹ to stop the career of conquest of Robert de Bruce, who, finding it prudent to retire as he advanced, Edward penetrated as far as the Frith, doing great mischief in his way, and then, as winter was fast approaching, returned to Berwick, where he remained with his queen and all the great men in attendance. Bruce made his appearance directly the English army had sufficiently retrograded,² and made such short work of such of his countrymen as had submitted to the king of England, that Edward was obliged once more to go in search of him. The Scottish monarch evaded all pursuit, and the king, with his favourite, thought proper to remain at Roxburgh for the security of the neighbourhood, whilst the earl of Gloucester, with a sufficient force, took up his quarters at Norham to protect the borders. On the following March he started forth on another expedition,³ but finding he could not meet with an enemy, and that forage and provisions were beginning to fail, he returned again to Berwick, satisfying himself by sending Gavestone, with the flower of the army, to St. Johnstown, to look after Bruce. The favourite is said to have conducted his expedition with much skill,⁴ but the non-fighting tactics of the Scotchmen made his labours as unprofitable as those of his master. The king also despatched a considerable force by another route, under the command of the earls of Gloucester and Surrey, who committed great ravages in Scotland, but found no enemy.⁵

Warwick, and Arundel; and the barons Hugh de Vere, William le Marshall, Robert Fitz-Roger, Hugh Courtenay, William Martin, and John de Grey. CLAUD. D. 2 fol. 295, a in *Bibl. Cotton*.—BRADY, vol. iii. p. 103.—TYRREL, vol. iii. p. 237.

¹ HEMINGFORD.

² CHRON. DE LANERCOST.

³ HEMINGFORD.

⁴ CHRON. DE LANERCOST.

⁵ The earl of Lincoln had been appointed guardian of the kingdom during the king's absence, but he died before his sovereign's return. The earl of Lancaster, having married his daughter and heiress, proceeded towards Berwick to do homage for that earldom, but, as Gavestone was there, would not enter the town. He, however, induced the king to allow of the ceremony being performed at Hagerstone, four miles on this side of Berwick.

The king returned to England, and shortly afterwards was informed the commissioners had finished their labours. The result of their deliberations subsequently appeared in a series of forty-one "ordinances," which entered very sharply into his misgovernment, and ordained certain remedies for the mischiefs it had produced. In this document the favourite is disposed of after the following fashion :—

"For that, by the examination of prelates, earls, barons, knights, and other good people of the realm, it was found that Pierce de Gavestone had evilly counselled the king, and had enticed him to do ill in divers manners; that he cheated the king of his treasure and sent it beyond sea; that he accroached to himself royal power and dignity, in making alliances with people upon oath to live and die with him against all men; that he put from the king good officers, and placed about him those of his covin and party, as well strangers as others; that he estranged the king's heart from his liege people, so as he despised their counsels; that he caused the king to grant lands, tenements, and offices, to himself and his heirs, and divers other people, to the great damage and injury of the king and his crown; that he caused blank charters to be sealed with the great seal, in deceit and disinheritation of the king and crown; that he maintained robbers and murderers, causing the king to pardon them; that King Edward, the father of the present king, ordered him to forswear the realm of England, and directed that his son, the present king, should for ever forswear his company; and for several other reasons, as the nourishing of concord between the king and his people, and the eschewing of many perils and discords, it was ordained the said Piers should for ever be exiled out of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and all the king's dominions, either on this side or beyond the sea, between that time and the feast of All Saints next following (having Dover assigned him for his port to pass from, and no other), and if he should be found in England, or any other part of the king's dominions, beyond that day, then he should be treated as an enemy to the king, kingdom, and people."¹

There were other offenders besides Gavestone whom the commissioners dealt with; those mentioned by name were Emery, and certain of the company of Friscobaldi, Henry de Beaumont, and the Dame de Verscy, his sister, who appear to have been associated with him in the misapplication of the revenue.² They

¹ *Rotulus Parliamenti de anno quinto Edwardi Secundi.*

² Emery was charged with transporting treasure for Gavestone beyond sea, and the company to which he belonged were commanded to give an account of it, or their goods and bodies would be seized if found within the king's dominions. Beaumont's crime was obtaining the Isle of Man, and his punishment was banishment from the court and forfeiture of lands equal in value to those he unlawfully procured of the king. The Dame de Verscy had been instrumental in obtaining the illegal grant, and had procured for herself the castle of Bamburgh. Her punishment was banishment from the court and the restoration of the castle.

were punished both with banishment from court and confiscation of their ill-gotten gains, and Gavestone made the best of his way to France, whence, not finding himself safe, he shortly afterwards removed to Flanders. Here, however, he remained not long. Unable to take warning from the past, he once more listened to the solicitations of his thoughtless sovereign, and, with a few friends, landed in England a little before Christmas, 1311, as much to the gratification of the king as to the indignation of every one else in England. About the same time there was a meeting of parliament, to which the powerful nobles prepared to come in such a manner as should give them the means of taking justice into their own hands, but rumours of their intention reached the king, and after issuing a writ commanding them not to come to the parliament with horse and armour, as it might disturb the public peace, finding they paid no attention to his commands, he suddenly brought the meeting to an abrupt termination.

At this time the finishing stroke was put to the persecution of the Knights Templars. Such as escaped with life, had their property confiscated and their persons sentenced to perpetual penance in different monasteries.¹ The king kept his Christmas at York in great state,² apparently resolved to retain his favourite, whatever his subjects might think or say; and he had the additional folly to publish a declaration on the 18th of January,³ the object of which was to justify his return, on the extraordinary ground that he had made a secret protestation against the ordinances before he confirmed them, and to represent the lord Piers de Gavestone earl of Cornwall as a good and lawful subject. This was sent as a circular letter to all the sheriffs. There is a curious anecdote attached to this document. The king drew it up himself, and delivered

¹ STOW'S *Survey*, by Thoms, p. 149.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 100.—Dr. HENRY (*Hist. of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 134) says the king and Gavestone passed their time in pleasure “without taking any measures to meet or dissipate the approaching storm.” The text, however, shews that Edward was unusually active, though his measures were not such as were likely to do him any service.

³ ROT. CLAUS. 5 EDW. II. m. 15. Dors.

each transcript with the seal to *le spigurnel* (the person whose office it was to seal writings), who sealed each in the presence of the king. Edward immediately took it from him and laid it on his bed, no one being present but Gavestone, besides the king and the spigurnel.¹ Another writ followed two days afterwards, which commanded the sheriffs to restore the lands of Gavestone they had seized, together with the profits accruing from them since they had had possession. Another followed on the 26th of the same month² directed also to the sheriffs, which they were to publish in full county court and every where else where they should think expedient, the object of which was to assure the people that all just and proper laws should be maintained by the king. This was followed on the 8th of February by a letter to the mayor and common council of London³ to secure the city and maintain peace in it. The 24th of the same month produced another declaration of the excellence of the king's intentions,⁴ and commanded the sheriffs to present themselves before him with a person of credit in whom he had confidence, to hear from himself how worthily he intended, that they might declare the same to the people. On the 18th of March he appointed commissioners⁵ to reform "the ordinances" of whatever they contained prejudicial to his interests, or contrary to the commission granted them.

Neither the barons nor the people were in a mood to pay attention to such documents. They had learned how little dependence could be placed on their thoughtless monarch, and their leaders assembled in a stern determination no longer to be trifled with.⁶ The earl of Lancaster had already distinguished himself by his

¹ "Au tieles lettres sont maundes as chescunes Viscontes Dengleterre. Cet a remembrer quo le dit forme fu fete par le Roy meismes et le seal et les breefs par lin liure a lespigurnel pur sealer le jour et le lieu contenuz es ditz breefs et il tantost quant les breefs furent seales en sa presence les prist en sa maine et les mist sur son lit."

² ROT. CLAUS.

³ ROT. PAT. 5 EDW. II. part ii. m. 22.

⁴ ROT. CLAUS. 5 EDW. II. m. 13. Dors.

⁵ ROT. PAT. 5 EDW. II. part ii. m. 17.

⁶ JOHAN TROKELowe, p. 10.—MON. MALMS. p. 118.

opposition to the detested favourite, and he was now by universal consent appointed the leader of the present confederacy.¹ They deliberated long as to the best means of proceeding in such a crisis, and finally, with a moderation very much to their credit after so many provocations, sent a humble message to the king, requesting that Piers de Gavestone might either be delivered to them or sent out of the kingdom.² The king replied only by removing, with his favourite, for greater security, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; but after a short time, fancying this fortress not so safe as so precious a deposit required, he sailed away with him from Tynemouth, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the queen, whose condition ought to have commanded attention to her wishes, that he ought not to abandon her, and placed him in the impregnable castle of Scarborough, the governor of which, Henry de Beaumont, appears to have been a congenial spirit.³ Having given directions for his security, he returned to York, with the object of raising an army to oppose that which, by this time, the confederate lords had raised, and had marched northwards, publicly declaring their purpose to have Piers de Gavestone judged according to the laws and ordinances lately made, at the same time disclaiming all intention of injuring their lord the king.

The earl of Lancaster, having obtained intelligence of Gavestone's hiding-place, lost no time in marching upon Scarborough, but he left the siege of the castle to be carried on by the earls of Pembroke and Surrey,⁴ who, although they received a command from the king to desist, pressed the siege with such vigour that Gavestone found himself obliged to surrender on assurances

¹ WALSINGHAM, p. 100.

² *IBID.*

³ CHRON. DE LANERCOST.—TROKELOWE, p. 16.—MON. MALMS. p. 119.

⁴ A good understanding appears to have existed between the barons and the queen, and Isabella and her father also secretly encouraged them to take up arms to punish one whom all stigmatised as an insolent upstart. He was considered no less her enemy than theirs, for when she had been left by her husband at Tynemouth, the earl of Lancaster sent a messenger to assure her that he would not give over his pursuit of Gavestone till he had avenged her quarrel.—ANNÆLES JOHAN TROKELOWE.

of honourable treatment.¹ In the meantime, Edward, half frantic for the safety of his favourite, made many fruitless attempts to place himself in a position to oppose the confederates. He had appealed to his father-in-law to use his influence, offering various excuses and explanations of his conduct towards Gavestone, but the king of France had obtained from his neglected daughter full accounts of the affronts she had received; and, instead of seeking to be a peace-maker, he did his best to encourage the barons to avenge themselves and the queen.² Edward's intentions of coercing the confederates he soon discovered could not be entertained. His boundless extravagance had left his exchequer empty, and so low had his credit fallen that the customary expedients to borrow money were now of very little assistance to him. Whilst under these unpromising circumstances, exerting himself to raise forces to march to the support of his Gascon friend, the king was astounded with the intelligence that he was a prisoner. Edward, however, speedily made the most earnest intercessions for his life, promising, if these should be granted, to satisfy completely all the desires of the malcontents.³ The next accounts informed him of his favourite's summary execution.⁴ His

¹ The conditions on which he put himself in the hands of his enemies were personal security and conveyance to the king (then at York); if the king agreed to an arrangement of their demands, he was to remain in their custody till the next parliament; but if such arrangements could not be made, he was to be returned, with his associates, to the castle of Scarborough without fraud or delay.—*RYMERI Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 334. *MON. MALMS.* p. 120.

² The third volume of the "*Fœdera*" contains several of Edward's letters to his father-in-law. In reading them it is difficult to say which king appears to the least advantage, the puerile humility of the one being as little creditable, as the well-known treachery of the other.

³ *WALSINGHAM*, p. 100.

⁴ The earl of Pembroke persuaded the barons to grant the king's request, that Gavestone's life might not be taken, and was proceeding with him to Wallingford, when others of the malcontents, who were not willing such an offender should escape, took advantage of the earl leaving his prisoner at Deddington, in Oxfordshire, whilst he paid a visit in the neighbourhood to his countess, to come unexpectedly upon Gavestone's guards with an overpowering force, and carry him off to Warwick Castle. The chronicle of Evesham states that the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, debated what they should do with him, when one of their associates, con-

sorrow was only exceeded in intensity by his rage.¹ Breathing vengeance against the authors of his death, he hurried to London in the hope of there finding more friends than were to be met with in the midland counties; but all England seemed moved by the same spirit. He could neither obtain men nor money, and, to add to his embarrassment, the confederates, with a perfect knowledge of his threats and his inability to execute them, sent him a spirited message, demanding that "the ordinances" should be confirmed and put in practice, threatening to come and force him to this measure if he made any unnecessary delay.² As he returned them no satisfactory answer, they concentrated their forces and marched towards London. This movement induced him to send for the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, to treat concerning the ordinances,³ but as they were expressly commanded to come without horse and arms, they did not think it politic to put themselves in his power, and continued their march, their army receiving considerable additions as they advanced. Edward then commissioned the bishops of Norwich and of Bath and Wells, with the earls of Richmond and other noblemen, to proceed to them with another message much to the same purpose. The commission stated "That the aforesaid earls had not come to him as they had been commanded, nor had sent any one to answer for them, and since he understood that the said earls, with horse and arms, and a great multitude of armed men, were coming towards him, to the great terror of the people, he ordered the commissioners to forbid the said earls and their associates, by the faith and homage they owed him, to approach with horse and arms nearer to him, which prohibition, if the earls would not obey, every one was to be forbid

vincing them that to allow him to return to the king would be but a waste of their labour, whilst it would ensure another war, they availed themselves of the services of certain justices of their party, by whom he was presently judged and condemned, and then carried to a rising ground about a mile north-east of Warwick, called Blacklow Hill, where he was publicly beheaded.

¹ MON. MALMS. p. 126.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 101.

³ ROT. PAT. 6 EDW. II. part i. m. 20.

proceeding in their company under pain of treason."¹

This message, however, was as little regarded as the other, and the barons shortly afterwards gave other evidence of their independent spirit, which was not without its effect. It appears that the pope had sent the cardinal of St. Prisca and the bishop of Poitiers as his nuncios into England to endeavour to compose the quarrel of the king and his nobles; and these prelates, proceeding to St. Albans, despatched their clerks, with the pontiff's letters, to Whethemsted, a distance of only a few miles, where the confederate army had encamped, but the leaders sent them back with the letters unopened, saying, — they were not scholars, but bred to arms, therefore they cared not to see them; and when the clerks inquired if they would meet the nuncios, they replied, there were many learned bishops in the kingdom to whom they would rather refer for advice than to a stranger who could know nothing of their quarrel.² Notwithstanding this rebuff, the pope's nuncios continued their efforts to bring about an accommodation, and in the month of October a treaty of peace was concluded in the presence of these prelates associated with Louis, count d'Evreux, the queen's uncle, the earls of Gloucester. and Richmond, the lord Nicholas de Segrave, and the lord Hugh le de Spencer — a name that will shortly be placed more conspicuously in these pages; the earl of Hereford, the lords Robert de Clifford and John Boletorle, coming forward as negotiators on the part of the barons. By the first article of the treaty it was agreed that the leaders of the malcontents should present themselves before the king in Westminster Hall, and with great humility make their submission on their knees, swearing, if he should desire it, that what they did, for which they incurred his displeasure, was not done in despite of him; and that they should implore his forgiveness, and receive it with a good will, and restore all the jewels, horses, and other property taken at Newcastle-upon-Tyne and elsewhere

¹ ROT. PAT. 6 EDW. part i. m. 20.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 102.

from Piers de Gavestone.¹ There were seven other articles in the treaty, but the purport of these was to give security to the barons for their late proceedings, and to promise the king assistance in his war against Scotland.² It was signed in the latter end of September, 1312, in the cardinal's chamber in London, in the presence of many witnesses.

The birth of a son and heir at this time,³ it might reasonably be supposed, would have recompensed the king for the loss of his favourite; but even so gratifying an event failed in obliterating the passionate sorrow with which he lamented his death; nor was his anger less violent than his grief, for although an apparent reconciliation had taken place between him and Gavestone's enemies, he never forgave them, and, as will be seen in the sequel, few escaped the vengeance he seems to have determined on obtaining. He displayed his distrust by keeping aloof from his nobles and surrounding himself entirely by foreigners; and the ill feeling could scarcely fail of being mutual, when the barons compared the state of the kingdom in the time of Edward I., when England was equally respected and feared, to its present miserable condition, when several of the northern counties were obliged to give large subsidies to Robert de Bruce to escape the plundering incursions of his merciless followers.⁴

Early in the ensuing summer the king, having appointed the bishop of Bath and Wells guardian of the kingdom, proceeded with the queen and a gallant company to pay a visit to the court of France for the purpose of beholding the solemnity of knighting the French king's eldest son.⁵ They returned to England about the middle of July. Scarcely had he found himself again in his kingdom when Edward began again to quarrel with his barons for their late proceedings

¹ The plunder amassed by the greedy favourite proved a valuable prize to his plunderers. There is a list of his jewellery and plate preserved in the "*Fœdera*," which shews to what an extent he had levied contributions on the crown jewels and the king's plate.

² ROT. CLAUS. 6 EDW. II. m. 8. Dors.

³ WALSINGHAM.

⁴ CHRON. DE LANERCOST.

⁵ ADAM DE MUREMUTH.—*RYMERI Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 393.

against Gavestone; and as the confederates stoutly maintained the justice of what they had done, it is very probable they would have come to blows, had not the peace-makers once more succeeded in establishing an accommodation.¹ They had but just arranged their differences when news arrived that Philip Mowbray, the governor of the strong castle of Stirling, had agreed to surrender the castle to Edward de Bruce, brother to the king of Scotland, by whom he had been vigorously besieged, if he were not relieved from England in the course of the ensuing twelvemonths. This news seems at last to have stimulated the sluggish Edward to make an exertion to defend his father's conquests. A large army was raised with which he marched into Scotland, but, as might have been expected, when both commanders and their troops were less devoted to their sovereign than was desirable in men on whom his success in arms depended, it could not stand before the veteran warriors of Robert de Bruce, who having employed the unmilitary expedient of digging pits, slightly covered, in the direction the English forces must pass to make an attack, Edward's cavalry were thrown into confusion by plunging into these traps, when a well-executed charge of the Scottish army caused such a panic, that the king of England, after a slight struggle, found himself forced to leave the field with all speed for the castle of Dunbar. The earl of Gloucester and his retainers fought well, but he was slain and his handful of troops cut to pieces,—a fate which was shared by a considerable number of their countrymen.²

Such was the disastrous battle of Bannockburn,—a defeat which was not felt the less for being unusual, and, in all its circumstances, unprecedented on Scottish

¹ WALSINGHAM. The negotiations ended with an equally liberal display of pardoning and feasting.—MON. MALMS. p. 141.—RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii, p. 443.

² Many of the Scottish historians have put forth statements as much exaggerating the strength of the English, as diminishing the Scottish army. Nor can the loss said to have been sustained by Edward rest on much better foundation, if the statement be true that his infantry "fled without striking a blow, or coming near an enemy."—HENRY'S *Hist. of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 143.

ground. The news passed throughout England, filling the hearts of all who heard it with doubt and dismay. The earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Warren, and Arundel, who, distrusting the king's feelings towards them, had not joined the army, were loud in their murmurs at this miserable termination to the campaign. One authority makes them accuse Hugh le de Spencer as the author of this disgrace. This was a handsome youth who had succeeded in insinuating himself into the place vacant in the king's affections by the death of Piers de Gavestone, for the weak-minded king found a favourite so essential to him, that, notwithstanding the terrible fate he had drawn upon the last, and the difficulties such a connexion had brought upon himself, he could not exist without one. He fled from Dunbar to Berwick, and thence hastened to London; and shortly afterwards, whilst the Scots were allowed, unchecked, to ravage the fairest counties of England, he passed his time in arranging a magnificent funeral for the deceased Gavestone.¹ As may readily be imagined, the barons were still more discontented than they had been before; and this state of things continued till the year 1316, when the king again

¹ Among Edward of Cærnarvon's attempts at legislation was one to diminish that waste of provision which characterised the good living of this period. He issued a proclamation in the ninth year of his reign (LELAND's *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 36), regulating the number of dishes which should be served up at dinners, there existing a tendency to great excess in eating, and a display of creature-comforts that would have made less solid tables than those in use "groan." In the preamble there is an attempt to bring under the law a class of persons who had become important features at the banquet. "And besydes this, because many idle persons, under colour of mynstrelsie * * * have been, and yet be, receaved in other men's houses to meate and drynke, and be not therewith contented yf they be not largely considered with gyftes of the lordes of the houses." For this abuse it is provided that "to the houses of prelates, earles, and barons, none resort to meate and drynke, unless he be a mynstrel; and of these mynstrels, that there come none except it be thre or foure mynstrels of honour at the most in one day, unless he be desired,"—these persons being in the habit of flocking to rich men's feasts in greater numbers than their hosts thought convenient,—"and to the houses of meaner men none come unless he be desired," such gentry never waiting for an invitation; "and if any one do against this ordinance, at the first time he to lose his minstrelsie, and at the second tyme to forswear his craftes and never to be receaved for a minstrel in any house."—PERCY's *Reliques*.

made many fair promises, and the earl of Lancaster, having been apparently taken into favour, was appointed to command an army which, with great difficulty, had been raised for the purpose of checking the Scots, whose continued invasions of England had become intolerable. The earl marched to Newcastle, but, in consequence of a contemptible jealousy that existed between the king and this nobleman, finding he was not supported by the king, as had been arranged, he returned to London, and the country was left once more to the mercy of its fierce enemies.

Indeed, the condition of England at this time was most pitiable. So sharp a famine raged throughout the land as had not been felt before in the memory of man. Wheat and other necessities were so extravagantly dear, that many of the nobles were obliged greatly to diminish the number of their retainers, who, having no other occupation, turned robbers, and plundered in bands unchecked by any authority.¹ Walsingham draws a terrible picture of the effects produced by the scarcity of food, wherein the poor are made to appear cannibals, and the starving living not sufficient in number to bury the starved dead; adding, that if the king had not prohibited any further manufacture of grain into malt, all the people must have died of hunger. Possibly there may be exaggeration in this, but there is no doubt that a great deal of misery and suffering prevailed throughout England. The pope came forward to alleviate this terrible state of things,

¹ Robbing on the highway was a profession followed, about this period, by persons much above the condition of discharged servants. Walsingham mentions gentlemen and commoners in the north, who had been engaged in the wars against the Scots, upon the failure of money and provisions, forming independent companies, that plundered every person who came in their way. Amongst those who suffered from these banditti were the two cardinals travelling in England as the pope's legates, who were attacked by a band of robbers commanded by two *gentlemen*, Gilbert de Middleton and Walter de Selby, by whom they were deprived of their horses, their money, and wearing apparel. The thieves had the grace afterwards to return the prelates their horses and furniture, and the king made satisfaction to them for whatever losses they had sustained. It is satisfactory to know that most of the *gentlemen* ultimately received the well-merited reward of their crimes.

by seeking to create a peace between England and Scotland; but the Scots were so pleased with their own successes, and so encouraged by the dissensions existing between Edward and his nobles, that they would not listen to any overtures for an accommodation, which conduct brought upon them the thunders of excommunication from the incensed pontiff.¹

It might be supposed that, reckless and irrational as Edward had shewn himself, the deplorable sufferings of his people would have stimulated him to employ all the resources of the country for their amelioration; but, unfortunately, the manner in which he chose to be employed, shewed him entirely lost to every honourable emotion. In the month of May, 1317, he is found mixed up in the very discreditable abduction of the countess of Lancaster, who was carried away from her husband's house by a certain deformed person called Sir Richard of St. Martyn, a retainer of the earl of Surrey, and taken to the castle of Reigate.² This fellow had the impudence, also, to lay claim to the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury in right of the countess, with whom he pretended to have had a contract before her marriage with the earl of Lancaster. Though the claim was disallowed in the king's courts, it was so well known who was the encourager of this shameless proceeding that the earl would not attend the parliament.³ He, however, did not fail properly to avenge himself on the earl of Surrey, and made himself master of more than one of his castles.⁴ A civil war would most likely have ensued, had not the ministers of the Church hastened to mediate between them.

Among the nobility of England there were men who regarded the conduct of the king with no less sorrow than indignation. These were the veterans

¹ It is stated that Bruce took offence at having only the title of "Governor of Scotland" allowed him in the pope's letters, and would not suffer the pontiff's messengers to enter his kingdom.—*RYMERI Fædera*, tom. iii. p. 707.

² *WALSINGHAM*, p. 108.

³ *IBID.* p. 109.

⁴ *RYMERI Fædera*, tom. iii. p. 672.

who had been led by his father to so many brilliant successes. They endeavoured to rouse the spirit of their sovereign by a plan that shews in an eminent degree the state of public feeling. Walsingham, who relates the anecdote, states that when the king was banqueting with his customary profusion in the great hall of Westminster, surrounded by his greedy courtiers, a strange woman came into the hall on horseback, dressed in a singular costume, so as to appear a comedian, who, after riding about the tables, mounted the steps to the raised part of the chamber where the king sat, and, casting a paper before him, took her departure. The king directed the paper to be read, and it was found to be thus worded :—

“ Our lord the king may take notice that he hath not kindly regarded those knights who served his father and himself with their lives and fortunes, but hath too much enriched others who never performed any thing considerable.”¹

Edward appeared much incensed, both by the message and the woman's audacity in delivering it; and the door-keepers, being sharply reprimanded for giving her admission, stated, as their excuse, it was not customary to deny admission at festivals to persons coming disguised to make sport for the king. Search was made for the offender, who, on being arrested, acknowledged a certain knight had engaged her to perform what she had done; and the knight came forward and confessed he had caused it to be done for the king's honour. It is barely possible this notice was not without producing a beneficial effect on the thoughtless monarch, for both the knight and the woman were allowed to depart unpunished. Such an effect, however, must have been very transitory.

At this period two cardinals were in England, travelling, as the pope's legates,² once more to attempt to harmonise the discordant elements of English society, and to establish a peace between England and Scotland.

¹ RAPIN, vol. iv. p. 149, makes the letter abound with reproaches of the king's cowardice and tyranny.

² ROTULI CLAUS. 10 EDW. II. m. 2.—KNIGHTON, 2534.

Although on their praiseworthy mission these excellent priests were plundered by thieves, it does not seem to have diminished their zeal in their honourable purposes, for their earnest representations to the king and to the earl of Lancaster of the impolicy of their conduct, produced an apparent reconciliation. A peace was concluded between them; they were persuaded to meet, and they embraced and kissed each other in a plain near Leicester.¹ There is too much reason to fear, however, that one at least of these new-made friends was insincere, if not both. Edward hated the earl for the part he had taken in the punishment of his beloved Gavestone, and there exists evidence for believing, that almost at the time of this affectionate reconciliation, he had himself entered into a plot to have him assassinated.² It is said that the latter discovered the king's evil intentions towards him, and caused an agent he had employed in the business to be hanged, and his head to be set upon Pomfret Castle; Edward promised also to give ample satisfaction on the subject of "the Ordinances," but on a general meeting of lay and spiritual lords to witness their being confirmed, he would only sanction them in the general and evasive way that had produced so much dissatisfaction before.³

The deliberations of this parliament were suddenly interrupted by the disastrous news that Berwick had been taken by Robert de Bruce, who had carried one of his devastating invasions as far as Scarborough and Skipton.⁴ Loss and disgrace had lately become familiar to the miserable people of England, but the loss of so important a place as Berwick appears to have moved them to make an effort to relieve themselves of their enemies. At a parliament held in London⁵ a short time afterwards, it was ordained that every city or town of England, possessed of the necessary means,

¹ WALSINGHAM, p. 110, and THOMAS DE LA MORE, p. 594.

² This accusation is on the authority of Walsingham, yet the fate that subsequently overtook the earl renders it by no means improbable.

³ WALSINGHAM.

⁴ THOMAS DE LA MORE. CHRON. DE LANERCOST.

⁵ WALSINGHAM.

should raise and maintain a certain number of men armed at all points, to assist the king against the Scots. The city of London had to provide 200, Canterbury 40, the town of St. Albans 10, and other places in the same proportion. These contingents being collected made a considerable army, but a very ill-disciplined one, for, when they arrived at York, it was thought prudent to disband them and send them home. News of a more gratifying stamp arrived from Ireland, where the lord John Bermingham had gained a sanguinary victory over a Scottish army commanded by Edward, the brother of Robert de Bruce, who had caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland. Edward de Bruce was slain, and the same fate attended the majority of his associates.

At last the king of England put himself at the head of his army, and early in the year 1319 marched in the direction of Berwick, to which town he presently laid siege. Berwick was stoutly defended; and the Scots taking advantage of the English forces being employed before the walls, pursued their way into Yorkshire, where they were opposed by a numerous body of men, chiefly priests, under the command of the archbishop of York, who, of course, could make no stand against the veterans of Bruce.¹ They were defeated with great slaughter, of which when Edward was informed, he raised the siege of Berwick with the intention of intercepting the Scots on their return; but they heard of his approach, and entered Scotland by another route, and he was glad to obtain a respite for his goaded country by means of a truce with her triumphant enemies.² On his return, after due deliberation, the wisest of his counsellors and adherents, in parliament assembled, agreed to pray and request the king, for his own honour and the profit of the realm, that for the great affairs which concern him, and occur daily, he would please to agree that two bishops, one earl, one baron or banneret of the family

¹ WALSHINGHAM, p. 112. MON. MALMS. p. 192.

² RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii p. 803.

of the earl of Lancaster, should in his name, and for him, be present and remain with the king in their turns, according to the four quarters of the year, to deliberate with, and advise him in due manner, about all considerable matters out of parliament.¹ This request the king not only promised by indenture, but granted a full pardon to the earl of Lancaster and his followers for all their offences. The growing influence, however, of the younger de Spencer, a courtier with similar personal recommendations, and of the same cast of mind and morals, as the deceased Gavestone, soon destroyed all the prospects such an arrangement created. He was about this time appointed chamberlain of the household, and constant personal attendance gave him opportunities, of which he was not slow to avail himself, of improving the favourable impression his insidious manners made on the king.²

The numerous proofs Edward of Cærnarvon had given of his incapacity to govern had produced an impression peculiarly unfavourable to him, on the minds of his subjects. The frequent appearance of several of the most influential of the barons in arms shews how little his authority was respected ; still their regard for hereditary descent prevented them from making any attempt to remove Edward from the throne. The humbler classes must have suffered much more from his misgovernment, but up to this time it does not appear they shewed any hostility to his person. An event occurred in the year 1320, which, if regarded as a sign of the times, indicates something approaching to a desire of change. A young man, said to be a tanner's son, known as John Deydras,³ suddenly appeared at Oxford, declaring himself to be the true son of king Edward the First, changed at nurse for the son of a certain carter, who had since been called Edward of Cærnarvon. He must have made some effort to obtain a recognition of his assumed title, for he shortly afterwards fled to sanctu-

¹ CONTIN. NICH. TRIVET.—ROT. CLAUS. 12 EDW. II. m. 28. Dors.

² DE LA MORE.

³ HIGDEN, *Polychronicon*.

ary into the church of the Carmelite friars, whence he was carried away by the citizens of the university—a violation of the privileges of the Church, which the most infamous criminality would scarcely justify. He was examined, and probably tortured, but as he persisted in his incredible assertion, he was sent to the king at Northampton, who, instead of dismissing him as a harmless lunatic, had him hanged, as quickly as possible, between Northampton and Kenilworth. This severity is only to be accounted for on the supposition that Edward suspected his rival of being engaged in a conspiracy. The chronicler who relates the anecdote treats the claim of the tanner's son as the freak of a madman; but the state of the public mind at this period offers a much more reasonable excuse for his conduct. Unfortunately, of this somewhat mysterious affair the information afforded is very scanty—it consists of little more than the name of the offender, his crime, and his punishment.

Towards the middle of the month of June¹ Edward found himself obliged to leave the kingdom. Of the possessions owned by the kings of England in France, there remained only the duchy of Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu, for which it was usual for the kings of England to do homage to the kings of France, which was a feudal acknowledgment that they held these possessions of the latter as their superior lords. It was imperative that this form should be repeated whenever a new king ascended the throne of France, and Philip le Long having lately been raised to the government of that kingdom, he did not fail to shew his importance by summoning his royal vassal to come before him and perform the usual ceremonies. Edward would gladly have excused himself, but Philip took such active measures towards depriving him of his French possessions, that he left the coast of England for that of France, and made his appearance at Amiens with a handsome retinue, where he was well received and entertained for a month.² Having performed his

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 826.

² Ibid. p. 862.

homage, the king of France returned to him the earldom of Ponthieu, which he had seized on his vassal's neglecting to fulfil his duties.

Edward returned to England on the 22d of July, and in the ensuing parliament he gave his sanction to several good laws that had been created for the safety and honour of the nation.¹ But the next year ushered in the desperate struggle, which was occasioned by the king's folly and extravagance in his intimacy with the two le de Spencers. The younger he had married to Eleanor, the eldest of three sisters, co-heiresses of the late earl of Gloucester, with whom, as her share of their father's extensive possessions, de Spencer obtained nearly the whole county of Glamorgan.² This large property, however, was so far from satisfying him, that he endeavoured to rob the younger sisters, and strove to possess himself of the estates of his neighbours. In one instance he obtained a portion of an extensive district called Gowerland, to the injury of the earl of Hereford and other powerful nobles who had a better claim to these lands; and they were so incensed, that they entered into a solemn confederacy to live and die for justice and the destruction of traitors,—the traitors being the two de Spencers, to whose lands they proceeded with a considerable force, and as these were spread over several counties, they had a long march. They attacked the servants and tenants, and gained an immense quantity of plunder of all kinds.³ This success caused them to be joined by several noblemen and gentlemen, with whom a second confederacy was entered;⁴ and soon afterwards they sent messen-

¹ RYLEY, *Placit. Parl.* p. 401.

² DUGDALE, *Baron.* vol. i. p. 389.

³ WALSHINGHAM, p. 113.

⁴ The document by which they bound themselves to stand by one another (as preserved in the register of Christ Church, Canterbury) says, after enumerating the confederates, "That the earl of Hereford, the said Roger de Mortimer, and other great men of the marches, and others above-named, had begun quarrels and complaints against the lords Hugh, the father and son, and that it was done to the honour of God and of Holy Church, to the profit of the king, the queen, and their children, and the safety of the crown and people. And as the earl of Lancaster, and other great men who had begun the quarrel, would maintain it, so the earl of Ænegos (Angus), and all those named after him, will maintain it with all

gers to the king demanding pardon for themselves, and that the de Spencers should be banished out of the country; to which the king returned a spirited reply to the effect that Hugh le de Spencer, the father, was beyond sea in his service, and Hugh, the son, was at sea fulfilling his duty, guarding the Cinque Ports, and that according to justice and custom they ought not to be banished without being allowed to make their defence. They were also represented by him as good and faithful subjects, ready to answer any accusations that might be brought against them; and he concluded by stating his resolution not to violate his coronation oath by granting pardon to notorious offenders against his royal person and dignity, who had so notoriously disturbed the peace of the kingdom.¹

This mood, however, lasted not long, for the confederates, on receiving the king's answer, marched to London with all their forces,² and being totally defenceless, Edward found himself obliged to agree to a convention, in which the offences of the de Spencers were expressed in pretty strong terms. They were banished as enemies of the king and his people,³ and shortly afterwards he granted an act of indemnity for the offences of every one engaged in bringing the de Spencers to punishment;⁴ the latter were sent out of the country, and the barons disbanded their forces and returned to their several castles.⁵

Although there can be no doubt as to the part taken by the queen in these disturbances, she seems to have avoided committing herself in any way with the party she favoured. An incident which occurred about this time brought her forward very prominently, and had a great influence over the fortunes of her husband,

their power; and whenever the earl of Lancaster and other great men shall leave the quarrel, the earl of Ænegos and all those named after him may leave it without being accused or questioned for it."—ANN. JOHAN. TROKELowe, p. 48.

¹ WALSINGHAM, p. 113.

² J. TROKELowe, p. 48.

³ ROT. CLAUS. 14 EDW. II. m. 5. Dors.

⁴ TOTFL's Collection, fol. 55.

⁵ MON. MALMS. p. 210. WALSINGHAM, p. 114. RYMERI Fœdera, tom. iii. p. 89.

but one by no means of the character she desired. It seems that, travelling towards Canterbury, she was refused admission into the castle of Leeds, by Bartholomew de Bradlesmere, the governor, which so incensed her, she complained to the king, and in such a manner that he immediately took measures to punish the offender.¹ He raised a considerable army, and besieged the castle with so much vigour, that in a short time it surrendered. Many of the prisoners, including the governor, were hanged; and the king was so gratified with this triumph, that he determined to stop the career of certain of his powerful subjects, of whom he had so lately been kept in awe. He increased his forces, in which he was assisted by several influential nobles; and the malcontents, penetrating his design, were not slow in putting themselves in a posture of defence. By this time, the de Spencers had returned, some of the more obsequious prelates having in a synod declared their sentence unlawful,² and the younger was reinstated to his former commanding position. With him in his company, early in the year 1322, the king put himself at the head of a powerful army, and marched towards Wales, where the confederates were in the greatest strength. He took their strong castle of Bridgenorth, inflicting upon them considerable loss. Those who escaped the conflict he outlawed, and confiscated their estates.³ These vigorous measures induced many to submit themselves; but they gained little by this step, for now the king had become the stronger party, he seemed to take a pleasure in shewing his power to those who had so often forced him to acknowledge his weakness.

The earl of Hereford and the lord Gilbert Talbot thought it advisable to leave the marches of Wales, and proceeded with their forces through Gloucestershire, with the object of forming a junction with the earl of Lancaster, who was in arms in the north.

¹ WALSHINGHAM, p. 115. JOHAN. TROKELowe, p. 52.

² THOMAS DE LA MORE.

³ KNIGHTON, 2540. WALSHINGHAM, p. 116. MON. MALMS. p. 214.

They met him at Burton-upon-Trent.¹ This nobleman, with other malcontents, as soon as he heard of the king's raising an army, had entered into a treasonable alliance with Robert the Bruce, who had agreed to march to his assistance with all his forces, and despatched a division to support the earl, under the command of John de Mowbray and Roger de Clifford.² The king allowed his subjects little respite, exhibiting an energy of character they had not expected. He quickly cleared the principality of the confederates, and pursued the earl of Hereford so rapidly, that he reached Burton shortly after him. The earl of Lancaster for three days, with considerable loss to the royal army, prevented them from obtaining a passage over Burton Bridge; but the king then passed the Trent a few miles above Burton, where a ford had been discovered. The earl at first intended giving battle; but, finding a superior army opposed to him, and one of the confederates whom he expected with reinforcements joining the king, he retired with his associates northwards, in hopes of meeting his friends from Scotland, plundering and doing much mischief as he went. But this movement was very prejudicial to his cause. The king pursued them to Boroughbridge, where they were brought to a halt by Simon Ward, governor of York, and Sir Andrew Harelay, or de Harelé, governor of Carlisle, with the forces of Yorkshire and Cumberland, who had marched to support their monarch. Although Lancaster's army had lost many men since the march from Burton, which they looked upon as a retreat, and he saw no signs of the army of the Bruce, the earl found himself obliged to give battle. The result was most disastrous to the confederates, the earl of Hereford being killed while endeavouring to force his way over the bridge, and the earl of Lancaster, with ninety-five of his principal accomplices, taken prisoners in the town by Sir Andrew de Harelé.³

¹ KNIGHTON, 2540. WALSINGHAM, p. 116.

² RYMER'S *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 926. MON. MALMS. p. 217. JOHAN. TROKELowe, p. 59.

³ DE LA MORE, p. 596. MON. MALMS. p. 218.

Among the evil passions of the king, the desire for revenge appears to have been one of the most prominent. He had never forgiven the nobles who had been accessory to the death of Gavestone, and now he had the chief of them in his power, he did not fail to make the worst use of it, to secure a terrible retaliation. With one exception, he left to the judges the task of passing sentence on the offenders, and they must have sufficiently considered his wishes, for eighteen noblemen and gentlemen were hanged, drawn, and quartered : and those who could not find means of escape were imprisoned in different castles.¹ Among the condemned were the elder and the younger lord Roger Mortimer, who had submitted to the king in Wales. Their lives were granted to them, but they were kept close prisoners in the Tower, where the elder subsequently died.² The exception just mentioned was the earl of Lancaster, whom the king pursued to death with a degree of personal hatred, that forms one of the most discreditable of his numerous disgraceful actions. The earl was condemned by the privy council, at the head of which the king sat during his cousin's trial. His conduct exhibited a degree of ill feeling, which was both indecorous and illegal, and although the hanging, drawing, and quartering, were excused the prisoner, in consequence of his being of the blood royal, he was found guilty of various offences, and was beheaded, close by his own castle, on a hill above the town of Pontefract, to which he was led dressed in a coarse garb, and seated on a lean horse, with other marks of insult such as had attended the death of Gavestone.³

Edward having completely broken the power of the barons, seemed determined to live in folly and extravagance, in defiance of his nobles, in contempt of religion, and to the disgrace of the country. He daily practised the grossest injustice, and committed the greatest insults. The confiscation of the estates of the

¹ KNIGHTON, 2541. DE LA MORE, p. 596. WALSINGHAM, p. 119.

² The adventures of the survivor will be found in the life of Edward of Windsor.

³ RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 936. CHRON. EVES.

confederates had to some extent replenished his exchequer—in this plunder a few great men participated. The younger de Spencer obtaining a share so enormous, that did no other evidence exist of his rapacity, this would be sufficiently conclusive: but this supply was soon exhausted, and he did not hesitate to seize any person's lands that offered sufficient temptation.¹

The first parliament² held after these proceedings obsequiously revoked the judgment against the de Spencers of a former parliament, on a petition from them proclaiming the losses they had sustained at the hands of the confederates, and the injustice of the award the latter had procured.³ They also, with the

¹ SCALE CHRONICON.

² ROT. CLAUS. 15 EDW. II. m. 14. Dors.

³ These petitions afford proof of the immense wealth which the de Spencers had been enabled to accumulate by the excessive partiality of their sovereign. Hugh le de Spencer, the son, complains that certain barons and knights, with their forces, killed, wounded, and imprisoned several knights, his officers, and carried away 40 war horses, complete suits of armour for 200 men, and other warlike engines and implements, provisions, wine, and grain to the amount of 2000*l.*, burning his charters and other documents valued at 2000*l.*, doing other damage to his gates and houses laid at 2000*l.*,—the petition naming ten castles in Wales and the marches, his property, that were plundered and destroyed. They took 60 mares, with colts and foals of two years, 160 heifers, 400 oxen, 500 cows and calves, 10,000 sheep, 400 hogs, with carts, ploughs, and various other property from his manors, towns and lands in Wales,—24 in number,—to the loss of 2000*l.* They burnt his granges and destroyed his crops to the same amount, and took his rents from his tenants and other debts to the amount of 4000*l.* From Wales they went to his possessions in England, where they put him to a loss of 10,000*l.* Hugh le de Spencer the elder complains that the confederates came to his manor of St. Fastern, in Wiltshire, as well as to 12 others belonging to him in the same county, 6 in Gloucester, 4 in Dorsetshire, 5 in Hampshire, 2 in Berkshire, 6 in Oxfordshire, 3 in Buckinghamshire, 4 in Surrey, 1 in Cambridgeshire, 2 in Huntingdonshire, 5 in Leicestershire, 1 in Yorkshire, 1 in Lincolnshire, 5 in Cheshire, and 5 in Warwickshire—in all 63; whence he lost two crops of corn, one growing, the other in the grange, 28,000 sheep, 1000 oxen and heifers, 1200 cows and calves, 40 mares and colts, 560 cart-horses, 2000 hogs, 400 kids, 40 tons of wine, 600 bacon, 80 carcasses of beef, 600 muttons in the larder, and 10 tons of cider, armour for 200 men, with other warlike necessities, and committed other damages to the amount of 30,000*l.* They entered his abbey of Langdon, in Wiltshire, where they broke open his coffers and took away 1000*l.* in silver, with charters and bonds, gold and silver cups, and silver vessels and jewels to the value of 10,000*l.* They also entered the castle of Marlborough, of which he was the constable, and took away of his goods 36 sacks of wool,

same readiness, abolished "the Ordinances" which had been made for the government of the king's household. The elder de Spencer at this time received the dignity of earl of Winchester, and the manor and castle of Donnington in Lincolnshire, and Sir Andrew de Harclé was created earl of Carlisle, and obtained certain lands on the marches of Scotland.¹ The parliament also voted the king liberal supplies towards his expedition against the Scots; for his recent successes had so raised him in his own estimation, that he thought he might, by some brilliant success, obliterate the disgrace which had attended his former wars in Scotland. He, therefore, invaded that kingdom with a powerful army towards the end of July 1322; but the whole country had been drained of its resources, and rendered impossible for him and his forces to exist in for any considerable period; so with his men nearly famished, and much reduced by sickness, he found himself obliged to retreat in the beginning of September. The Scots, of whom he could get no intelligence, followed upon his footsteps with such speed, that he and his favourite could only save themselves by a timely flight from Beland Abbey, where these active enemies surprised his forces. His plate and other valuables fell into their hands, and they carried on their depredations unchecked even to the gates of York.² Edward was greatly relieved when in the course of the following year Robert de Bruce proposed a treaty of peace, to which he had been forced in consequence of the pope refusing to remove the excommunication from himself and kingdom, till he would agree to a peace with England. The negotiation ended by a truce being

6 suits of rich sacerdotal vestments, a library, a golden chalice for the sacrament, one cross of gold, another of ivory and ebony, and other ornaments belonging to the chapel, cloth of gold and rich carpets, and his entire wardrobe to the value of 5000*l*.

¹ These he did not long retain, being executed in the following year for entering into a treasonable alliance with the king of Scotland.—CHRON. LANERCOST.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 117.—CHRON. JOHAN. TROKELowe, p. 63.—CHRON. MUREMUTH, p. 9.

solemnly entered into by the two kings for thirteen years.¹

The king of England² was now left without any enemies except his own bad passions: but these were more fatal to him than any he had had to contend against. The rest of his career, however, is so intimately connected with that of his son, Edward of Windsor, in whose life, to prevent repetition, every interesting event connected with it will be found carefully narrated. But in this chapter ample evidence is afforded of the evils of favouritism—one of the worst forms in which an ill-regulated mind in an exalted station can display itself. In a prince the mischief is the less endurable, for the individual allowed to monopolise his favour becomes an obstacle to the stream of patronage which should fertilise merit throughout the whole community. Obstacles of this nature are always similarly disposed of, whether in the court or in the current; for they are sure in time to be overwhelmed and destroyed by the force of their accumulations, and they will be found to assimilate very nearly in character; for the like incapacity for any useful purpose exists in both. The chief claims possessed by Gavestone and the de Spencers, in the consideration of their partial sovereign, were such as a better judgment would hold in very humble estimation—they consisted of the untrustworthy recommendations of a pleasing exterior and agreeable manners—a gilding too often found covering a very base material. That this was the case with the favourites of Edward of Cærnarvon, the absence in them of decided intellectual or moral worth, their insatiable avarice, wanton insolence, and intolerable pride, place beyond a doubt.

The armorial bearings of Edward of Cærnarvon are *Gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or*, and

¹ The truce was concluded on the 30th of March, 1323.—RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 1022.

² There is an ancient cup preserved in the bursary of Oriel College, Oxford, which originally belonged to its founder, Edward of Cærnarvon. It is of gold, is nine inches and three quarters in height, and is curiously decorated with the initial of his name, surrounded by the letter S. interlaced at every curve.

his royal badge an hexagonal castle, towered of the same form, and of gold, worn in allusion to his descent from Eleanora of Castile. His issue consisted of two sons, Edward of Windsor, and John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall; and two daughters, Joan, married to David, son and successor of the famous Robert de Bruce, and Eleanor, second wife of Reynald, second earl of Gueldres.

Though this prince too frequently gave himself up to trifling pleasures,¹ he is occasionally found giving his attention to letters. He patronised Adam Davie (he flourished at the commencement of the fourteenth century), whose "Visions" are very complimentary to him. Davie translated the "Battle of Jerusalem," in which Pilate challenges our Saviour to single combat, and the legend of St. Alexius, from the Latin; but his masterpiece is "The Life of Alexander," which Warton says "deserves on many accounts to be published entire."

¹ In the wardrobe account of the 28th year of king Edward the First, A.D. 1300, among the entries of money issued for the use of his son, Edward of Carnarvon, in playing at different games, is the following:— "Domino Johanni de Leek, capellano domini Edwardi fit' ad *creag*' et ludos per vices, per manus proprias apud Westm. 10 die Aprilis 100s." This *creag* is supposed to be cricket.

EDWARD OF WINDSOR, K.G.,
EARL OF PONTHEIU, MONSTREUILLE, AND OF CHESTER,
DUKE OF AQUITAINE, PRINCE OF WALES, KING
OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Edward of Windsor—State and Prospects of the Country—He is created Earl of Chester, and receives Grants of Lands from the King—Festivities at Court—Edward's Early Education—He is created Prince of Wales—Proposed Marriages—Royal Quarrels—Intrigues of Queen Isabella—The Prince is invested by his Father with his Continental Dominions—Leaves England—Performs Homage for them to the King of France—The Queen enters into a Conspiracy—Detains the Prince in France—The King's Letter to the Prince—His Reply—The King's Second and Third Letters—He appeals to the Pope—Isabella leaves France with her Son—They reside with the Family of the Earl of Hainault—The Queen's Engagement with Sir John de Beaumont—Incapacity of the King—His Measures against a Threatened Invasion of England by the Queen—Use made by the Conspirators of the Name of the Prince—Landing of the Queen and Prince with an Invading Army—Isabella's Successful Deceptions—The Prince not Blameable in this Opposition to his Father—The Londoners Refuse to Assist the King—He Flies to Gloucestershire—Tumult in London at his Departure—The Queen Issues a Proclamation at Oxford—She takes Bristol—Causes her Prisoner the elder de Spencer to be barbarously executed—The King becomes a Fugitive—Is Taken and Confined in Kenilworth Castle—The Prince is appointed Guardian of the Kingdom—Obtains the Great Seal from his Father—Execution of the younger de Spencer—Grand Entertainments in Honour of the Queen and the Prince at Wallingford Castle—Their Triumphal Entry into London—The King Deposed—The Prince declines to accept the Crown unless voluntarily resigned by his Father—Proceedings of Parliament—Resignation of the Government and Crown of England by Edward the Second.

THE birth of Edward of Windsor, so called from the place of his nativity, was regarded with satisfaction throughout England, but more especially so by every Englishman who observed with attention the state of public affairs, and the prospect there existed of his

weak-minded sovereign being influenced by the ties of nature to attempt the due performance of his duties both political and domestic. The public expectations at this period were, no doubt, sufficiently sanguine, but they could not have shaped themselves to such brilliant purposes as the event which created them was destined to realise.

Edward, the first child of king Edward the Second and Isabella of France, was born at Windsor, at forty minutes past five in the morning,¹ on the 13th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1312; and, as the royal pair had been married five years, it may readily be imagined the long-desired heir was welcomed with no lack of those demonstrations of popular gratification usual on such occasions. The country was in a disturbed state from the effects of six years of misgovernment; but the good news quieted much ill feeling, and the people gave themselves up to the pleasures within their reach as though they had forgotten all their fears, troubles, and grievances as completely as if such had never existed.²

The queen's uncle, the count d'Evreux,³ was on a visit at the court of king Edward, with an imposing retinue of French nobility,⁴ and an endeavour was made to have the royal infant named after the count; but it does not seem to have met with the approval either of the king or of his counsellors; and, four days subsequent to his birth, he was christened with great pomp and solemnity, in St. Edward's chapel, in the castle of Windsor, by the more popular name of Edward, by the hands of Arnold Priest Cardinal, *titulo Sanctæ Priscæ*,⁵ having for his godfathers, Richard bishop of Poitiers, John bishop of Bath and Wells, William bishop of Worcester, Louis count d'Evreux, John duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, Emery of Valence earl of

¹ ASHMOLE, p. 644.

² WAISINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 77.

³ Barnes erroneously styles him the queen's brother, and, a still greater blunder, states that Prince Lewis, eldest son of the reigning king of France, was also present at the christening.—*History of that most victorious monarch king EDWARD III.* p. 1.

⁴ WAISINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 77.

⁵ BARNES, p. 1.

Pembroke, and the powerful favourite Hugh le de Spencer. Having so well provided for his spiritual weal, the next object was to obtain a provision for that of a temporal kind, and this his father sought by a grant of the greater portion of the counties of Chester and Flint,¹ and a considerable district in the Isle of Wight, bestowing on him at the same time the dignity of earl of Chester. Others shared the royal bounty about the same period, probably for their attendance on his consort. John Launge, valet to the queen, Isabella his wife, and the survivor of either, received a grant of twenty-four pounds per annum, to be paid out of the farm of London²—rather an extraordinary locality for a farm—every field of which, however, has long ceased to bear any other crop than bricks and mortar. It was customary to bestow a liberal largess on such occasions, and persons of much higher rank than the queen's domestic servants were well content to be so distinguished.³

Windsor Castle, for some time after the birth of the heir to the throne, witnessed many a scene of courtly revelry; for here the king kept his Christmas,⁴ and his foreign and English guests were entertained by him with such heartiness as made the more thoughtful of the spectators imagine he had become reconciled to the death of his worthless favourite, Piers de Gavestone, who through the agency of Edward's powerful barons had been seized and brought to the block a few months previously.

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. iii.—ROT. PAT. 6 EDW. II. "Within a few days after this prince's birth," says BARNES, "the king his father granted him the county of Chester, except the manors of Mecklesfield and Shotwyke, to hold to him and his heirs, kings of England, for ever; and likewise the counties of Flint and Rothelan to hold as before, except the manor of Overton, the lands of Mailor, Seysnoke, and the castle and manor of Holt; after which he was thus styled by the king, EDVARDUS, COMES CESTRIÆ, FILIUS NOSTER CHARISSIMUS."

² ROT. PAT. 6 EDW. II.

³ At the birth of the queen's son, John of Eltham, Sir Eubulo de Montibus, for bringing the news to the king, received a present of 100*l*. Isabella had a gift of 333*l*. at the birth of her daughter Eleanor, and her nurses and French servants were at different times very handsomely provided for. There were also considerable sums scattered amongst the crowd.

⁴ Stow, p. 216.

As both the king and the queen visited Aquitaine and the court of France soon after the birth of the young earl, it is but reasonable to suppose he travelled with them, and thus, in his early infancy, beheld those fields over which, in mature manhood, he was destined to march as a conqueror. But he was born in troubled times; and it was not likely in the circumstances in which they found themselves placed that either of his parents watched over his infancy with any extraordinary degree of solicitude. There is a certain Theophania de St. Pierre, mentioned in public documents as the queen's nurse,¹ and styled by the king "lady of Bringencourt," who was far more likely to have had the care of the earl of Chester than his father or mother.² Her services must have been of more than ordinary importance, or she would scarcely have received from the king, in 1316, a gift of fifty pounds, and a grant of lands in Ponthieu. The young king did occasionally interest himself in the progress of his heir; for there is in existence an order from Edward, dated at Eltham, that one of the companions of the earl should be Griffin, the son of Sir Griffin of Wales; but, with a knowledge of his character, it is too much to suppose he understood the duties of a parent, or cared to fulfil them.

Though thrown upon strangers for his first lessons, it does not appear that they were negligently taught or carelessly received. Barnes,³ indeed, speaks very confidently of the attention paid to his education in its earliest stage. Without depending upon all he ventures to assert, it may be assumed that as he grew up he shewed such evidences of talent as were deserving the commendations of the learned, but somewhat too

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. iii.

² Edward of Carnarvon was about this time kept fully occupied by the earl of Lancaster and the confederate barons, who forced him to make arrangements for their gratification, and to enter into obligations for the future good government of himself and the country; but these he soon found means to evade.

³ From his birth he was carefully bred up in all things that seemed necessary or proper for princes to excel in, so that, through the vigour of his parts being rendered very apt to imbibe the best principles, he made a speedy and extraordinary improvement in all noble qualities."—BARNES, EDWARD III. p. 2.

credulous Pitsæus.¹ But the time came when the real business of a royal education was to commence, and it was seen by the selection of an instructor that it was considered a matter of some responsibility. An accomplished scholar from the university of Oxford, son of Sir Richard Aungerville, a knight of considerable celebrity, was appointed to this onerous office; and while his own brilliant career shews his fitness as a teacher,² the many glorious features in that of his pupil prove that his great talents were far from being misapplied in such a vocation. We know nothing certain regarding the nature of the earl's studies; but there is no ground for believing they proceeded beyond that *modicum* of scholastic learning customarily afforded to the heirs of the great barons of England at this period. At ten years of age, he was summoned to parliament with the title of earl of Chester and Flint.

What impressions he received from the important events which were transacted in the kingdom, as he attained an age when such were sure of finding a place in his mind, there is nothing but conjecture to assist the inquirer in learning; but, as the queen early dis-

¹ PITSÆUS *de Illust. Angl. Scrip.* p. 517.

² Richard Aungerville, better known as Richard of Bury, from the place of his birth, obtained the distinctions of lord privy seal and treasurer of England, the deanery of Wells, the bishoprick of Durham, and the highest dignity of a subject, that of Lord Chancellor. — PHILLIPOT'S *Catalogue of Chancellors and Treasurers*, p. 32.

"He wrote many things," says Barnes, "whereof some yet remain; and in one of them entitled *Φιλοβιβλος*, which Conradus Gesner commends highly, he saith of himself, 'that he was powerfully hurried away with a certain ravishing love of books.' And, indeed, his study was so well furnished, that it was thought that he had more books than all the bishops in England beside. He was also wonderfully taken with the conversation and acquaintance of learned men, and many letters passed between him and Francis Petrarch and others famous for learning in that age. He had still in his house many chaplains, all notable scholars. * * * It was this bishop of Durham's custom in dinner and supper-time to hear some one or two paragraphs out of some choice book read to him; the matter whereof he would afterwards discourse with his chaplains as leisure from other business would permit. He was of a very charitable and bountiful disposition, giving a weekly allowance of eight quarters of wheat, made up into bread, for the relief of the poor, besides the offals and fragments from his table. He would constantly, when he rode between Durham and Newcastle, give away eight pounds sterling in alms; in his riding from Durham to Stockton, five pounds; from Durham to Auckland, five marks; from Durham to Middleham, five pounds; and so proportionably in other journeys. Many other monuments of his charity,

covered the use that might be made of him in forwarding her own views, her partisans, there is no doubt, took good care that they should be as prejudicial to the king as possible. Whatever may have been the faults of this monarch, any thing like studied neglect of his son was not one of them. In the year 1322, according to some respectable authorities,¹ at a meeting of parliament held at York, the young earl of Chester was created prince of Wales. Of this ceremony no record exists. King Edward was too fond of costly shows to allow such an occasion for display to pass without fully availing himself of it. It may be presumed, therefore, that it wanted nothing, as a spectacle, to make it sufficiently imposing.

Negotiations were commenced as early as the year 1323 for a union of the young prince with the daughter of Charles, count of Valois, which appears to have been eagerly desired by the latter;² but king Edward pretended to defer coming to any conclusion on the subject till he had been enabled to obtain the advice of his parliament.

Shortly afterwards the father of the young lady is

wisdom, piety, and learning, he left behind him, which have endeared his name to all posterity."—P. 328.

The work, mentioned by the learned author of *The History of Edward the Third*, has been printed with the title, "Philobyblon, de querimoniis, librorum omnibus literarum amatoribus perutile." 4to. (*Spiræ*, 1483.) For further information respecting this celebrated scholar and divine, see *Goodwin's Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 661.

¹ *SPEED*, p. 564.—*HOLLINSHED*, p. 869.—*MILLER's Catalogue of Honour*, p. 315. Many other historical writers have given the young prince this title; but I have not been able to meet with any positive testimony of the creation, as mentioned in the text, on their authority. The anonymous author of the MS. collection of the princes of Wales, in my possession, is satisfied that it took place, although he acknowledges the charter is not to be found, "because the most part of the auncientest recordes of those tymes were consumed by rebells." *Barnes (Edward the Third*, p. 2.) accounts for there being no evidence of his having used that title, "because he was not long after invested with a greater." Polydore Virgil avers that the creation took place at York—yet no trace of it exists in the proceedings of the parliament of 1322; and it is but just to add that in a charter of the year 1325, Edward of Windsor is styled "Eddouart fitz ainzue du Roy d'Angleterre, Duc d'Aquitaine, Comte de Chestre, et de Pontyn," and that in similar documents the title of prince of Wales is omitted: but it may be said that other titles he is known to have possessed are also left out: therefore this does not amount to absolute authority that he never was prince of Wales.

² *ROT. CLAUD.* 16 EDW. II. m. 7, Dors.

found at the head of a powerful army sent by the king of France to make war upon the continental possessions of the king of England; and he exerted himself with such effect, it seemed very probable he would soon make himself master of all Aquitaine.¹ He may have been stimulated to this active opposition by wounded pride, Edward having in view another matrimonial arrangement for the prince which he thought more desirable. In this instance the lady was the infanta of Arragon;² and the negotiations could scarcely have escaped the knowledge of the count de Valois, who proved himself one of the bitterest enemies the English had in France. Events of the greatest importance, however, prevented these alliances from being further considered; nor, as regards his marriage, is there any reason to regret that prince Edward found himself obliged to relinquish all thoughts of a wife either from the court of France or of Arragon.

From about this period may be dated the commencement of those intrigues of queen Isabella which deprived her husband of his crown, and ultimately of his life. She had long felt indignant at the conduct of her lord towards his favourites the de Spencers, and regarded their growing influence and her own comparative insignificance with a resentment that made her inclined for any steps, however unjustifiable, that would at once secure her power and revenge. There were frequent quarrels between the royal pair, and there were not wanting advisers on both sides who increased their mutual ill feeling. The queen associated herself with the discontented, and, with an ill-disguised hatred of her husband and the de Spencers, entered into a conspiracy for the overthrow of their government. It must have been evident to her, and her accomplices, that they could not effect the revolution they desired without having prince Edward entirely at their command. There is but little doubt that some of her agents had had communications with him that excited very powerfully his affection for his mother, and pre-

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Regum Angliæ*.

² RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. iv.

pared him for the conspicuous part he would be shortly called upon to play; for, with the knowledge we possess of his disposition, it is impossible to account for his having been drawn into the unnatural opposition which shortly led him to the throne over the corpse of his father, unless his feelings had thus been craftily acted upon.

Isabella had numerous and active adherents both in England and France. Of the latter country her brother, Charles le Bel, was the reigning sovereign, who was likely to be readily influenced into adopting any line of policy which should plunge into intestine strife a people whose power and prosperity had excited the jealousy of himself and his predecessors, even before their monarchs had been rivals for military reputation in the Christian wars, for the recovery of Jerusalem from the Infidel.¹ The first move in the game this unprincipled woman had to play came in the shape of a summons from two officers of Charles le Bel, who presented themselves before the king of England, commanding him, in the name of their master, to repair to the court of France and there do homage for the duchy of Aquitaine.² This was followed by one of a more peremptory character;³ and although negotiations were attempted by ambassadors on the part of king Edward, to delay his personal attendance, or set it aside, their presence effected so little, others were appointed to succeed them, but with no better result; for the French took advantage of some disturbances in Guienne to commence hostilities there, which they carried on with so much success, the unwarlike Edward found himself

¹ MILLS' *History of the Crusades*.

² TYRRELL'S *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 302. "About the beginning of August," says Stow (p. 222), "king Edward being at Pickering, there came ambassadors from the new French king, the lord Beauville, and Sir Andrew de Florentine, to cite the king to come to do homage for Guienne, Aquitaine, and other lands which he held of him; and though Hugh de Spencer, the son, and Robert Baldock, lord chancellor, had promised the said ambassadors not to declare their message unto the king, yet, when they should depart, they did it, admonishing him to come. And the said Sir Andrew de Florentine, being a notary, made a public instrument of the said citation and admonition."

³ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 74, 98.

forced to go in person, with such an army as he could collect, to the assistance of his French territories.¹ He appears to have been as much averse to leave his own dominions for this purpose as to perform the homage required of him, which was quite as well known at one court as at the other.

One of the ambassadors, the bishop of Winchester, was privately informed, that if queen Isabella were allowed to visit her brother, through his affection for her, the king of England might obtain the most favourable conditions respecting the matter in dispute between the two sovereigns; and this intelligence he thought of such importance he instantly set off from Paris to communicate it to his sovereign.² The bait took, and the queen, no doubt to her exceeding satisfaction, soon found herself safe at her brother's court, ostensibly to negotiate a treaty between two powerful princes so nearly related to her,³ but, actually, to carry out a well-devised plot, of which her departure from England was but the commencement.⁴ Her negotiations, at first proceeded in a manner likely to remove suspicion from her, if any had been entertained. A treaty was entered into which provided that the duchy of Guienne was to be delivered to the king of France to be restored to the king of England, withholding that portion of it lately conquered by the French, till the court of peers should decide on his claim to it on his presenting himself at Beauvais by a certain day, he being only to pay the charges of the war if the conquered possessions were restored to him.⁵ There does not appear to be any thing very enticing in these conditions; but, in the

¹ HENRY, *History of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 163.

² RYMER *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 140; WALSHINGHAM, p. 121.

³ MURMUTH. *Hist. R. G. EDWARD I. et II.*, p. 63.

⁴ The account given by Froissart, or, rather, by John le Bel, of whose chronicle he was a continuator, of the motives of this journey of the queen, is nothing better than an ingenious fiction, and his complete departure from truth is accounted for from his having been in the service and confidence of John of Hainault, who was one of Isabella's most active partisans.

⁵ RAPIN, vol. iv. p. 170.

situation of king Edward, they were as favourable as could be expected ; and, very reluctantly, delaying his departure as much as possible, he prepared, by the advice of his parliament, to cross the Channel, and perform the required homage. At Dover, his own disinclination to the voyage, assisted by that of his favourite, who knew the danger of placing himself in the power of the queen, by entering the dominions of her brother, brought on, or induced him to assume, serious indisposition, which occasioned his sending to the court of France to crave further delay.¹ This was exactly what his enemies desired. In this juncture he received an intimation that, provided he bestowed his continental dominions on the prince of Wales, the king of France would receive his son's homage, and then the necessity of the father's personal attendance at the ceremony would no longer exist ; a plan which allowed king Edward to release himself from the performance of a duty he was so desirous to avoid was adopted by him and his adviser with a readiness which shews how little they must have dreamt of the danger to both of which it was pregnant.

Early in the month of September 1325, the young prince was publicly invested with the possessions of his father's sovereignty and territories in France,² the charter allowing of a resumption by the father of both title and lands in case he should survive his son ; and after some negotiations on the subject between the two sovereigns, in one of which Edward provided against his son being married by the king of France, or made a ward without his permission ; and after sufficiently, as he thought, counselling the prince as to his behaviour, the latter was allowed to sail from Dover, attended by Walter bishop of Exeter and a handsome retinue, and, without accident, in due time found him-

¹ RYMERI *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 163.

² ROT. PAT. 19 ED. II. p. i. m. 25. On the 2d of September, at Langdon Abbey, near Dover, the king gave unto the prince, his heirs and successors " jure hereditario, in perpetuum, the counties of Pontheiu and Motterel or Monstroill ; and on the tenth of the same month, he being then at Dover, granted unto him the dukedom of Aquitaine, and all the lands he had, or ought to have, in the kingdom of France."—BARNES, p. 2.

self in his uncle's dominions. The long-deferred homage was performed at the Bois de Vincennes, by the young duke of Aquitaine, without loss of time; but the king of France thought proper, when restoring the possessions of his duchy, to withhold those places which he had recently obtained by force of arms, and the ceremony was not performed without protestations on the part of those Englishmen who were present to watch over the interests of their monarch.

Queen Isabella would have cared little had the whole duchy been retained by her brother. She had obtained what she wanted—the possession of her son—and she immediately set about turning this advantage to the best account, seeking partisans among the most distinguished knights both in France and England, and, by every means in her power, endeavouring to excite the malcontent subjects of her lord who had taken refuge in France. The most distinguished amongst these was Sir Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, who had lately escaped from the Tower, with whom she exhibited herself on terms of such intimacy that there can remain little doubt of her criminality, even at this early stage of their conspiracy.¹ The business on which she had been sent to France having been settled nearly twelve months since, she had no cause for staying there; but to the letters of her husband, desiring her to return, and holding out promises that seemed to shew an increased consideration for her, she made excuses that her brother desired her company for some time longer. Edward also was very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Charles le Bel, regarding that portion of the English possessions in France he had obtained by conquest, and was not without suspicion that the prince of Wales might be unfairly dealt with. He wrote urgently to Charles, requiring the return of his wife and son, and received from him communications to the effect that Isabella

¹ TYRRELL, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 309, endeavours to remove suspicion from the queen in her conduct towards Mortimer; but as all he has to say amounts to a statement that Mortimer was forty years of age at this time, he is any thing but successful. THOMAS DE LA MORE (*Vita EDWARDI II.*) seems to consider her guilt beyond a doubt.

excused herself from quitting France, as she feared the de Spencers would cause her to be put to death as soon as she appeared in England. The queen, previous to her journey, had assumed to be perfectly reconciled to the favourites, and had, since she had taken up her residence at the French court, corresponded in a most amicable spirit with the younger of the two. The inconsistency of her conduct with her assumed fears did not fail to strike both the monarch and his counsellors, and they began to suspect some impending mischief. The arrival of the bishop of Exeter,¹ who escaped from the French court in disguise, made known its true nature. The bishop had beheld enough of Isabella's proceedings to become aware of her intentions, and he took care to inform his master of all he knew and all he suspected.

The king was greatly alarmed, but immediately took measures to counteract the queen's intrigues. He wrote² to Charles le Bel to assure him, in the strongest manner, that if Hugh de Spencer, or any other person in his kingdom, or in his power, should offer to molest her, he would make a severe example of him, reminding her of the friendly way in which she had very recently treated the person she now affected to fear. He also wrote to the archbishop of Rheims, to the duke of Burgundy, and the most influential of the French peers, to the same purpose as to the king of France.³ He wrote to the queen similar assurances, promising on her arrival in England her style of living should be every thing she desired, and urging her, as forcibly as he had her brother, to suffer his dear son Edward to come to him. He also addressed the prince the following day, desiring his return.

At this period, it would be unreasonable to suppose the prince was his own master, and his evasive reply to his father must, therefore, be regarded as having

¹ It is said that the bishop was dismissed from the queen's secret council, but it seems improbable that he, holding the office of the king's treasurer, should have been in her confidence. Rapin gives a very different account.

² Rot. Claus. 19 EDW. II.

³ BRADY. *Complete History of England*, vol. ii. p. 151.

been dictated by his mother or some of her friends. In this he is represented acknowledging his remembrance of what had transpired at Dover, in their last interview, particularly his promise not to marry without his father's consent, and further assured him of obedience to his wishes to the full extent of his ability;¹ adding, that he found it impossible to leave France as speedily as he commanded him, because his mother was not ready to commence the journey, nor could he prevail upon himself to leave her behind, being bound by the dearest ties of duty and affection not to oppose her wishes. The plot was thickening, and it became necessary that the king should increase in his exertions to counteract it. On the 18th of the following March he wrote, from Lichfield, a much longer letter² to his son. After commending his remembrance of what he had before alluded to, and hinting that his determination to remain with his mother might lead to mischief, he endeavoured to make the prince aware of what was most culpable in the queen's conduct.

Then, reiterating his commands to his son to leave France without a moment's delay, the king acquaints him with his knowledge of the many offences he had committed since his residence at the French court. On the same day, he wrote again to the king of France, exposing the fallacy of the queen's excuses, and appealing to him so strongly not to countenance her misconduct, that Charles could no longer openly favour her intrigues.

Finding that his wife and son ceased to take any notice of his commands, and learning the full extent to which the former was plotting against him, the king became so active in his remonstrances with Charles le Bel and his principal nobles, that he found himself obliged to assume dissatisfaction at Isabelia's proceedings. Probably a knowledge of the representations Edward was making at foreign courts,

¹ TYRRELL'S *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 310.

² This correspondence exists in the Close Rolls in the Tower of London, 19 EDW. II., and is preserved in the *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 182, and in the valuable publication of these rolls by the Record Commission.

particularly at the court of Rome, may have hastened this, if the exceedingly indecorous behaviour of his sister, which had begun to be severely commented on by some of the most influential of his own subjects, had not been a sufficient cause. At this time, in England, in great part through the exertions of an arch-traitor, Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford,¹ one of the most active of her agents, she knew her partisans to have so increased that her presence, with an armed force of 1000 men, was thought sufficient to ensure the complete success of her conspiracy. Her negotiations for foreign aid were also so far advanced, she could look forward to the result of her schemes with a degree of confidence that made her very careless as to the interpretation which might be put on her behaviour by the more respectable of the French nobles.

In the month of June Edward followed up the favourable impression he fancied he had made on his brother-in-law, by another earnest appeal to his sense of honour, and made one more attempt to persuade his son to return to him. It is evident, from some passages in it, he wrote it under the impression that his previous communication had never reached the prince, in which there is good reason for believing he was perfectly correct.

This communication appears to have produced no more satisfactory effect than its predecessors, and it was rumoured that Edward, in his rage for the want of respect that had been shewn him, had banished both mother and son the kingdom. In his appeal to the pope, to whom he took care to forward copies of all his letters, he denies that he had ever entertained such an intention, that the tender age of his son acquitted him of any imputation of disobedience, for which the queen was alone to blame, and that he entertained too great an affection for both to behave

¹ This turbulent priest had appeared in arms against his sovereign in an earlier conspiracy, for which he had been condemned by the parliament, and his temporalities seized by the king. His head was saved by the interference of some of his brother prelates.—Srow, p. 222.

to them so harshly.¹ Whether his holiness, from pure regard for justice thought himself bound to use his influence on behalf of the injured husband, or was persuaded to employ it by the costly presents he, as well as several of the college of cardinals, are stated to have received from England at this time,² it is impossible with any certainty to say; but more than one writer avers, that the de Spencers were exceedingly liberal at Rome in the disposal of gold and jewels, which caused the head of the Christian Church to intimate to the king of France the propriety of immediately despatching to the king of England his wife and son. Another chronicler³ goes so far as to say, that a certain friar minor, named Thomas Dunhened, was sent from England with an associate to obtain from the pope for king Edward a divorce from his queen. But if such a mission was ever thought of, it is certain it came to nothing.

When the king of France received from the hands of the bishop of Xaintes, sent expressly from Rome on this business, a communication from the pope holding out a threat of excommunication if he continued to withhold the queen of England from her husband, he thought proper to assume some degree of indignation against his sister, and bade her quit his dominions forthwith;⁴ but there is quite sufficient evidence for believing that he was aware at the time that she was about to proceed to Holland, to confer with a very serviceable partisan of hers called Sir John de Beaumont, who had agreed to assist her with 300 horse, and to obtain the support of his brother William, earl of Hainault, with a much more considerable force, on condition that her son prince Edward married the

¹ "Et idem filius noster, erga nos non deliquit, nec permittit ætatis teneritudo ut sibi offensa aliqua possit, aut debeat imputari. Propter quod inhumanum foret, nec fœdus permetteret naturale, tantæ crudelitatis sævitiam contra eos exercere."—*Rot. Rom. Edw. II. m. 3.*

² *Froissart*, chap. vii.

³ *Chronicon Monast. de Lanercost.*

⁴ M. Lancelot has endeavoured to correct some of the numerous errors to be found in the chronicles of France and England respecting Isabella's residence at the court of her brother; but though his disquisition evinces much care and research, he does not appear to have sufficiently understood the queen's proceedings.—See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. x.

earl's daughter Philippa. The queen, therefore, went her way with an imposing retinue, and no attempt being made to detain her, she travelled by easy stages till she found herself safe near the end of her journey, lodging in the dwelling of an obscure knight, whose name in after years was to be celebrated throughout Europe as one of the bravest companions of the Black Prince. This was Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt.

Sir John de Beaumont was a young knight panting for distinction, and seeing no road so open to advancement as the service of the queen of England, he readily undertook to be her champion, and was from thenceforth one of the most zealous of her supporters. Probably her assumed wrongs excited his indignation, for she took care to make her representations of the indignities she suffered from the de Spencers sufficiently moving, and by the chivalrous spirit of the time every true knight felt bound to undertake the redressing of female grievances. There are reasons for suspecting Isabella of employing all the diplomacy of her sex in endeavouring to increase the number of her supporters, and influencing them to use their utmost exertions in her cause. Mortimer and several of his brother conspirators had fled with her from Paris, but his presence was not likely to be much restraint, when in her situation she had so many facilities for disguise. The account given by Froissart of her intimacy with her young champion, though guarded, shews how entirely he devoted himself to her. He was her escort from the castle of Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, during which they had ample opportunities for cultivating a good understanding; and during her subsequent residence at the court of his brother at Valenciennes, where she was sumptuously entertained, he so bestirred himself to obtain a force sufficient to support her claims that the earl and some of his council called in question the policy of so committing himself in such a cause. This, however, had no other effect than to make him more determined in the business, and he at last had the satisfaction of seeing that most of his friends were ready to set out for England as soon as required.

The earl of Hainault had four daughters, but Philippa was the one by the terms of the agreement destined for the young prince of Wales, and during his stay at Valenciennes no effort was wanting on the part of the countess and queen Isabella to direct his attention towards her. It was soon evident that they took a mutual satisfaction in each other's society.

In the meantime king Edward was favouring the designs of his worthless wife by exhibiting a rashness and ignorance of what was required of him that could scarcely fail at so critical a time to be fatal to his own cause. He was so dissatisfied with the conduct of his ambassadors, the bishop of Norwich and the earl of Richmond, at the court of France, for allowing his queen's proceedings, that he charged them with neglecting their duty, and which led to their immediately joining his enemies; and was so indignant at the easy escape of Isabella from her brother's kingdom, that without the slightest means of supporting such a declaration, he declared war against France;¹ and this ill-advised step had no other effect than that of inducing Charles le Bel, who was well acquainted with his sister's movements, to be less careful of concealing his countenance of her projects than he had been. In many other ways he displayed his incapacity for government, which the emissaries of Isabella, by this time grown numerous and bold, took care to point out to his dissatisfied subjects. The two de Spencers and their principal agents were very unpopular in England, their pride and rapacity having offended the great body of the nation; and the king, as their protector, came in for a large share of the odium directed towards them. They were, however, well informed of the invasion from Holland, about to be attempted by the queen and her adherents, and persuaded the king to issue a proclamation which was forwarded to the sheriffs, the admirals of the north as well as the south of the Thames, the constable of Dover, and the wardens of the Cinque Ports,² which after relating the

¹ *Act. Pub.* iv. 198.

² TYRRELL, vol. iii. p. 314.

cause of the queen's being sent to France, and of the prince following her, states her refusal to return or to allow of the departure of her son, and her having made alliances with Roger Mortimer, his notorious enemy and rebel, and other enemies and rebels in those parts, as well as numerous aliens, who intended to come over in force into England to hurt and destroy the good people of the land, and to bring it into danger and to be subject, by the said aliens and rebels, to his dishonour and disinherittance.

Having warned his subjects of the mischief the queen was devising, he commands the officer to whom the proclamation is directed to see that every man capable of bearing arms, of whatever rank, be called out, fully equipped for war, to arrest or destroy the expected invaders, except the queen and the prince.

This document concludes with proclaiming that the king "will hold those who shall be ready and use their endeavour to do these things, as his good and loyal subjects; but those that shall be negligent, and will not do their duty, he will hold as his enemies, and punish them as such." Some of these proclamations are dated "Gaywood, the 8th of February," and others bear date at Leicester, the 6th of the ensuing March, which proves, at least, that there was sufficient time to make all classes of the king's subjects aware of the impending struggle; but, unfortunately for him, he reaped but little benefit from it.¹ The more powerful barons regarded the favourites with ill-concealed ill-will, and the stories, cunningly devised of the queen's

¹ The same may be said of all his measures to counteract the queen's intrigues, among which were directions sent to the sea-ports to search passengers for letters conveying traitorous intelligence, and orders to the sheriffs to seize suspected persons, and the publishers of malicious reports against the king.—THOMAS DE LA MORE, p. 598. RYMER *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 183, &c. Stow says, that he victualled all his castles in England and Wales, and strengthened the garrisons. He also commanded that in every city, borough, town corporate, hundred, and wapentake of England, musters should be made, and the men exercised in arms, both on horseback and on foot, so that they might, at all times, be ready when any hue and cry should be made, to pursue the aliens, if any came into England. And to this purpose, he ordained *bikenings*, or beacons, to be set up, that the same being fired might be seen afar off, and thereby the people summoned to arms.—P. 223.

ill-treatment by them, inflamed the lower orders. Another argument for a change was brought forward, which was made "a tower of strength" by the queen's partisans, and this was the name of the youthful prince of Wales. His virtues, his intelligence, and his beauty, were by turns descanted on in the warmest eulogium; the moral of which was, how much happier the people of England would be under so admirable a prince, than in their present oppressed state, suffering from the misgovernment of a monarch, whose incapacity, under the direction of the hated de Spencers, was plunging the whole kingdom into ruin.

The queen was at this period enduring a very stormy voyage; she having embarked in a small fleet at Dort with her son, and her English and foreign partisans, comprising a force of nearly 3000 armed men.¹ Mortimer commanding her English forces, and Sir John de Beaumont the foreigners of various nations, whom he had persuaded to join the expedition, among whom was Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt. The army was a small one for such a purpose, but in its ranks were several men of high rank and influence in the country they were about to invade, whose example was expected to produce very important effects soon after a landing had been effected. At the head of these was Edmund, earl of Kent, the king's brother, who had leagued himself with Isabella ever since his appointment as ambassador at the court of the king of France, when she first left England on the pretence of settling the matter of the homage. The rough weather they met with on their voyage drove them out of their course; so that, on the 22d of September, they with difficulty effected a landing, at a place called Orewell, on an obscure part of the coast of Suffolk,² where the queen, for want of better accommodation, was obliged to be content with a tent made by the sailors with carpets on the beach, in which, with a cheerful fire made of

¹ KNIGHTON.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 123. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 366. FROISSART, chap. ix. gives a very incredible account of the voyage; indeed, but a small portion of that part of his chronicle for which he was indebted to Master John le Bel, is entitled to any consideration.

pieces of wreck, she and her son had to pass the night.¹ She liked her first night's rest, on her return to England, so little, that almost as soon as day-break, all her military force having been landed, she commenced her march by an advance upon Harwich, which she reached without opposition, on the 25th, and where she was welcomed by another of the king's brothers, Thomas of Brotherton, and by several other distinguished noblemen.

Whilst Isabella was here collecting her resources and making arrangements for effectually placing her son in opposition to his father, king Edward, who had heard of her landing, was wasting the precious time in concocting proclamations against his enemies, to which no one attended.² Roger Mortimer, against whom this innocuous artillery was directed, advised the queen to issue a manifesto, which had a very different effect. She, as is customary with all whose object is robbery and bloodshed, promised that she would procure the enjoyment of the most perfect peace and prosperity for every one, excepting those public enemies, the two de Spencers, Robert Baldock, the king's chancellor, and their partisans, who were denounced as the creators of the present disturbances; and she assured the people that nothing should be taken from them during her march through the country, without their consent, under very severe penalties. The denunciation of men so universally hated as the unworthy favourites soon brought to the queen's standard numerous powerful barons whom their exactions and insolence had disgusted. Prominent among them there came Henry, earl of Lancaster, the queen's uncle, and subsequently the earls of Norfolk, Leicester, and Pembroke. The

¹ *Chron. de Flandres.*

² In one dated September 28th, and given under the great seal at the Tower of London, he commands all his subjects to assist him against the invaders, and destroy them all except the queen, the prince, and the earl of Kent; engages to pay the soldiers wages, and promises to men of greater quality his charters of pardon for felony, or adherence to his enemies, as well in times past as the present; and offers a thousand pounds sterling and a free pardon to any one who would bring him the head or the body of the traitor Roger Mortimer.

country people were reconciled to the presence of armed men, the majority of whom were foreigners, by finding a fair price always given for whatever was required of them. This liberality, however, was limited to those who favoured the queen's projects, for any one known to be loyal to his king was plundered without mercy. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the immense extent of the deception carried on by Isabella to induce persons to join her ranks.¹ The great and powerful body the clergy were especially the objects of it, which appeared in a report, that the pope had absolved the king's subjects from their oath of fealty, and had thundered his heaviest anathemas against all who should appear in arms against the queen; having sent two cardinals with her army to see that these things should be properly enforced.² Intelligence of such a nature did wonders in favour of those for whose profit it was circulated. Many of the higher officers of the church joined the invaders, and others sent important assistance.

Whilst matters were going on thus favourably with the infamous Isabella, her unhappy husband began to experience a taste of those slights of which he was soon to have so ample a provision. He sent to the citizens of London requesting their assistance to drive the foreign invaders out of the kingdom, to which, after due deliberation, they replied, acknowledging their reverence to the king, the queen, and the prince, and their readiness to resist foreign aggression, but declined to march out of the city, unless they were allowed to return the same day before sunset. This answer must have been sufficiently unsatisfactory; but when the king learned that a large majority of the inhabitants had been won over by the emissaries of the queen, who were very

¹ In mentioning the weakness of the invading force Henry adds, "But they brought with them a whole army of political lies; which did incredible execution, rendered the unhappy Edward odious and contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, and made the deluded people look on the perfidious Isabel and the profligate Mortimer as the most illustrious patriots and deliverers of their country."—*Hist. of Great Britain, Civil and Military*, vol. vii. p. 169.

² THOMAS DE LA MORE.

busy amongst them, and that they were on the verge of insurrection, he knew he must seek for assistance elsewhere. Therefore, after provisioning the Tower of London, he left there his son John of Eltham, with the wife of Hugh le de Spencer the younger, and proceeded, in company with the unpopular favourites and the equally unpopular chancellor, into Gloucestershire, in hopes of raising a sufficient force to enable him to withstand his enemies.

Scarcely had he taken his departure, when the Londoners broke out into a frightful tumult, coerced their authorities, beheaded a servant of the younger de Spencer, and after plundering the house of the bishop of Exeter, they executed him in the same manner at Cheapside, whilst proclaiming him a public traitor.¹ Then, having accidentally met with Sir John de Weston, constable of the Tower, they took the keys of the fortress from him, liberated the prisoners, turned out the king's officers, and put others in their places who were more to their liking, and declared the Lord John of Eltham, guardian of the city and kingdom, who was obliged to sanction the atrocities they were daily committing.

¹ WALSINGHAM. The bishop had given great offence when he held the office of treasurer by recommending that the itinerant justices should sit in London, which led to the punishment of several of the citizens, of whose turbulence there is a deplorable picture preserved by William de Dene, a public notary connected with the church of Rochester (*Ang. Sac.* vol. i. fol. 368) living at the time these events happened. He says that several dignitaries of the church had assembled at Lambeth for the purpose of selecting two of their number to be sent as mediators between the king and queen, but the people had been so excited against the bishops, laying to their charge the evils that had befallen the kingdom, that it was dangerous for any of their order to appear in public. Notwithstanding this, the bishop of Winchester volunteered to proceed on such a mission if an associate could be found. Having, however, learned that there had been a tumultuous meeting at the Guildhall, when the deaths of the bishops of London and Rochester, and the king's justices, the plunder of the merchants, and other measures of a like nature, were resolved on, the assembly dispersed in great alarm. The bishop of Rochester, as he was flying for sanctuary to St. Paul's Church, whilst crossing the fields near the north door, fell into the hands of the insurgents, who, after grievously wounding him, dragged him to the great cross at Cheapside, where they struck off his head. Thus perished Walter Stapleton, an able statesman, an amiable prelate, and a great encourager of learning. He was the founder of Exeter College and of Hart Hall, Oxford.

This state of things does not appear to have been much improved by the arrival of the queen and the prince of Wales with a powerful army which was every day increasing; but, finding the king had escaped, her advisers recommended instant pursuit, and, in consequence, they advanced upon Oxford, where a cunningly devised proclamation, which had been drawn up during the journey, was made public and extensively circulated.

This is believed to have been the handiwork of Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford, one of the ablest and most unprincipled of the queen's party, and bears about it unquestionable evidence of having proceeded from that worthless churchman.¹ Its specious pretences and delusive promises deceived many, and Isabella and the prince found themselves so well seconded by the nation, that the cause of king Edward was soon seen to be hopeless. The unhappy monarch thought of making a stand at Bristol, which he caused to be strengthened as much as possible and placed under the government of the elder de Spencer, but there had not been time to complete his preparations when the place was besieged by a powerful army—with which his queen had hurried from Oxford—and forced to surrender, barely allowing opportunity for the escape of the king with the younger de Spencer, the chancellor, and a few others. The elder de Spencer was not so fortunate; he fell into the hands of the queen, who wreaked her vengeance on him by causing the venerable nobleman to be executed under circumstances of great barbarity.²

¹ De la More informs us that this old traitor preached a sermon at Oxford from the following text:—"My head, my head acheth" (2 Kings, iv. 19), in reference to the master against whom he was conspiring; wherein, after giving his explanation of the queen's motives for entering the kingdom at the head of an armed force, he concludes with advocating the necessity of cutting off the head of a kingdom when it becomes affected by indisposition. This atrocious hint, it is stated, was uttered in the presence of the wife and the son of the sovereign he was so eager to sacrifice, and before the principal personages then at the university. Bad as Isabella was, she was scarcely abandoned enough at this stage of the rebellion to allow such treason to have been uttered so boldly before her, and it is so much at variance with the tone of the document alluded to in the text, that I am disposed to doubt its correctness.

² DE LA MORE.

The capture of Bristol produced a prodigious effect in favour of the conspirators. The authorities of many important cities sent messages to the queen to deliver them up to her; whilst it decided the fate of the fugitive king. No one knew what had become of him, and very few seemed to care. This indifference induced a great change in the sentiments of the now dominant party. We hear no more of "our most dear lord the king," as he is styled in the Oxford proclamation. It was necessary, however, to obtain their object by cautious advances, and, therefore, at a meeting of the most powerful barons, at Bristol, on the 26th of October,¹ the young prince was appointed regent of the kingdom in the absence of his father, and persons were selected to fill the principal offices of state.² Soon afterwards Isabella proceeded to Hereford, but sent previously a considerable force, under the earl of Lancaster, with an experienced guide, into Wales, where it was reported Edward had concealed himself.³ The intelligence proved to be correct. The unfortunate king of England having sought refuge among the monks of the Abbey of Nethe, in Glamorganshire. He was betrayed to his enemies, and, with the younger de Spencer, Robert Baldock, and Simon de Reding, carried a prisoner to Monmouth. As the power of guardianship would cease at the return of the king, his capture must have rather embarrassed the conspirators. After due debate, the wily bishop of Hereford was sent to persuade the helpless monarch to give up the great seal for the use of the prince his son, and for the security of the kingdom—which with some difficulty he succeeded in doing. After this, Edward was conveyed to the castle of Kenilworth, where, with orders "for his diet no otherwise than for a king," he spent the winter. On his way he was enforced, at Ledbury,

¹ ROT. CLAUS. 22 EDW. II. DORS.

² In this assembly were found the archbishop of Dublin; the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Hereford, Norwich, and other prelates; the earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster; and many other barons and knights of less distinction.

³ STOW gives a very singular account, founded on that preserved by DE LA MORE, of the king's escape.

to issue writs for the prorogation of parliament to be holden by "Isabel, queen consort of England, and Edward, his eldest son, guardian of England." These writs were afterwards sealed with the great seal by Prince Edward (in his capacity as guardian of the kingdom), to whom its custody had devolved, by the king's directions.¹ In the one dated at Ledbury, December 3d, there appears the first evidence we possess of a design in the dominant party to set aside the reigning sovereign, for it summons the parliament to meet on the 7th of January, to treat with the king, *should he be present*, or, in his absence, with the queen consort and Edward, the king's eldest son, guardian of the kingdom.

Terrible was the fate of his unworthy favourites. Isabella seems to have regarded Hugh de Spencer with an intense hatred, which she made no attempt to conceal; nor amongst her adherents did any better feeling prevail. He was arraigned before a tribunal of bitter enemies, Sir William Trussel acting as justiciary, who addressed him, subsequently to condemnation, in a speech that, after charging him with a multitude of crimes, where falsehood was quite as prominent as truth, sentences him to all the horrible penalties of treason.

This sentence was carried into effect on the 24th of November, a few days only after it was pronounced, affording a lesson to all royal favourites who abuse the influence they possess, not likely to be disregarded.² The end of Robert de Baldock, the chancellor, was equally deplorable; for having been committed to the custody of the bishop of London, the Londoners fancying that he was better treated than he ought to have been, took his punishment into their own hands, and used him with such violence that he died shortly afterwards. The earl of Arundel, and one or two offenders of less note, were beheaded at Hereford.

¹ RYMERI *Fædera*, vol. iii. p. 237.

² According to a chronicle preserved in LELAND, and attributed to Sir W. Packington, who held the honourable office of treasurer to the Black Prince, the treatment of Hugh le de Spencer, from his capture to his death, was a succession of indignities and cruelties, that reflect eternal disgrace upon those at whose instigation they were employed.

Whilst the unfortunate king was passing his Christmas in solitude and anxiety at Kenilworth, the queen and the prince of Wales, the archbishops of Canterbury and York; the new treasurer, the bishop of Winchester; the chancellor, the bishop of Norwich; with the bishops of Ely, Coventry, Hereford, and a brilliant assemblage of nobles and knights, were enjoying the same season, in a series of magnificent entertainments at Wallingford castle.¹ Thence they started for London, the road, all the way, crowded as though with a triumphal procession. Isabella was at the zenith of her popularity, and in the full tide of success: her crimes and follies were forgotten, and the tens of thousands who thronged the way wherever she passed, regarded her with the most enthusiastic admiration. In London she received many rich presents, doubtless to propitiate her favour. The young prince was not less thought of; he was brought prominently forward on all occasions, to the great gratification of the people. Hurried from one new and exciting scene to another, and excited by the applause he was continually receiving, little time was left him to reflect on the position in which he was placed, or to give a thought on the condition of the miserable captive at Kenilworth. Nevertheless, as will presently be shewn, he did not allow himself to be led away entirely from that sense of justice which is as strong in the boy as in the man. Even at this early age there is reason for believing he began to have a perception of the real nature of the scenes he was required to sanction.

The parliament, which had been prorogued to the 7th of January, now assembled at Westminster, the prince of Wales taking his place at their head; but it was soon seen that they desired for him a more familiar title than his present one of guardian, for several members addressed the meeting denouncing the king's numerous acts of misgovernment so effectively, it was unanimously agreed that he should be deposed, and his eldest son elected king in his room.²

¹ WALSINGHAM.

² *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 367. WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Reg. Ang.* p. 126. *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 508.

The prince, if he possessed the sensibility which, in after years, he so amply exhibited, could not have felt very comfortable in listening to the charges that were brought against his father, in a court of which he was the president; and the proposal with which they were followed must have greatly increased his distress. It is certain that he refused the crown, unless his father chose voluntarily to resign it.¹ This conduct created some surprise, and more confusion, amongst the principal conspirators, who had not prepared themselves to meet in one so young and so well tutored, as they thought, a proceeding so creditable to him. But, finding his determination not to be shaken, they met the dilemma by sending to the king, by the bishops of Hereford, Winchester, and Lincoln, and several other members of the assembly of different ranks, the articles of accusation—on which, in consequence of habitual indolence, cruelty, and incapacity, he had been judged unfit to govern—for the purpose of intimidating him into a resignation of the crown.²

Thomas de la More, who, from having lived in the service of the weak-minded Edward, may be supposed to have good grounds for the statements he makes, has, in his life of his master, given an account of the manner by which the deputation from the parliament, in their interview with the king, succeeded in the object of their embassy. Adam de Orleton, the turbulent

¹ WALSHINGHAM wants to make it believed that Isabella was excessively grieved at these proceedings against her husband, and that her sorrow influenced her son to decline taking the regal title from his father, unless with his consent. She might have *appeared* sorry, for she could be a most accomplished hypocrite when she pleased, but that she had any genuine sympathy in the matter is quite out of the question.

² "By common decree, on behalf of the whole kingdom, it was ordained that three bishops, John Stratford, bishop of Winchester; Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford; and Henry, bishop of Lincoln; two earls, Henry of Leicester and John earl of Warwick; two abbots, Glastonbury and Dor; two barons, Roger Gray and Hugh Courtenay; two justices, Sir Geoffrey Scrope and John de Stantham; two barons of the forts; four burgesses of London, and four knights of the commonalty of the land, should be sent to the king."—STOW, p. 224. The articles of accusation may be found in KNIGHTON, 2765; WALSHINGHAM, p. 127; and TYRRELL, vol. iii. p. 326. The account of the deputation, in WALSHINGHAM, p. 128; DE LA MORE, p. 600; KNIGHTON, 2550, &c. The rival histories of BRADY and TYRRELL are also well worth consulting.

bishop of Hereford, seems to have been the spokesman of the party, and he exhibited no more respect for the king's feelings, when he addressed him in his prison at Kenilworth, than he had shewn for his person on many occasions since the commencement of the conspiracy. Having sufficiently frightened the unhappy monarch by an awful detail of his crimes and offences, which had such an effect upon him he would have fallen to the ground in a swoon, had he not received timely support, he stated that he was empowered to promise, on condition of his voluntarily resigning the crown, not only safety, but a handsome style of living that would meet with his wishes in every respect. The unhappy Edward was but too well satisfied to get rid of his troublesome dignities on such terms. He answered, with tears in his eyes, that he much regretted he had so misbehaved himself towards his people, asking pardon for his offences of the persons present; and seeing a speedy termination of his government could not be avoided, he expressed his thanks that his eldest son should be appointed to reign in his place.¹

The king then came forward before the deputation and delivered up the ensigns of sovereignty; upon which Sir William Trussel, who had been appointed by the parliament to fulfil the duty now required of him, surrendered the homage of the people of England to their sovereign, in these words: —

“ I, William Trussel, procurator of the prelates, earls, and barons, and other people in my procuracy named, having for this full and sufficient power, do surrender and deliver up to you Edward, king of England before this time, the homage and fealty of the persons in my procuracy named, in the name of them and every of them, for certain causes therein mentioned: and do return them up to you, Edward, and acquit or discharge the persons aforesaid, in the best manner that the law and custom can give it; and do make this protestation in the name of all those that will not for

¹ WALSINGHAM, DE LA MORE, STOW. The king is described as appearing before the deputation in a sort of funeral garment, as though to shew his melancholy condition.

the future be in your fealty or allegiance, nor claim to hold any thing of you as king; but account you as a private person, without any manner of royal dignity."

"Then Thomas Blunt, knight, and steward of the king's household, by the breaking of the rod, resigned his office, and shewed that the king's household had free liberty to depart."¹

Such was the end of the reign of Edward of Cænarvon, and truly it formed a most unpromising prelude to that of Edward of Windsor.

¹ Stow, p. 225.

CHAPTER II.

Edward of Windsor acknowledged King of England—His first Act of Authority—His Coronation—Mortimer and Isabella usurp the Government—Disturbed State of the Country—The Scots break the Peace—Preparations for War—Serious Quarrel between the English Archers and the Hainault Auxiliaries—The King invades Scotland—Sufferings of his Army—The Scots elude them—The English Army returns inglorious to Durham—Mortimer and Isabella enter into a disgraceful Peace with the King of Scotland—Murder of Edward of Carnarvon—His Character—Latin Verses written by him in Prison—Privileges granted to the City of London—Marriage of Edward of Windsor to Philippa of Hainault—His pretensions to the Throne of France first started—The Earl of Kent with other Lords appear in arms against Mortimer—He puts down their Confederacy—The Queen Mother's infamous conduct—The King of France summons the King of England to do homage to him for Aquitaine and Ponthieu—Edward proceeds to France—Manner in which he performs the required homage—He returns to England—Arrival of Ambassadors from France to arrange that the homage should be more fully performed—Edward's political views—Plot of Mortimer and Isabella to destroy the Earl of Kent—His Execution—The King enters into a Combination to put an end to the Authority of Mortimer—Mortimer's precautions and the Queen's audacity—Mortimer surprised and taken prisoner by a party headed by the King—He is sent to the Tower—Public Rejoicings at the Downfall of Mortimer—His Execution—The Murderers of Edward of Carnarvon brought to punishment—Conduct of the king towards the Queen Mother.

No sooner had the deputation returned from Kenilworth, than Edward of Windsor was publicly declared and acknowledged, in full parliament, king of England,¹ and with the full power of sovereignty he issued a proclamation,² which was made known throughout the kingdom, that all might be made aware of the important change that had taken place in its govern-

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 106.

² ROT. CLAUD. 1 EDW. III. part i. no. 28. BRADY, *Complete Hist. of England*, Appendix, no. 74. TYRRELL, *Gen. Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 337. SPED, p. 565. BARNES, p. 3. Different copies of this proclamation will be found to bear different dates, and to have some slight variations. Edward of Windsor was first proclaimed king of England on the 25th of January, and he began to "publish his peace," as it was called, a few days afterwards.

ment. On the same day¹ the young king received the honour of knighthood from the hand of his cousin, Henry earl of Lancaster,² a distinction, it is believed, he was much more gratified with than he was with the more imposing one he had so lately obtained. Immediately he found himself possessed of the privileges of the order, he exercised the proudest of them, by conferring its covetable honours on several young noblemen, among whom were three sons of the now all-powerful Lord Mortimer.³ There is no doubt that the warlike preparations which Edward of Windsor had beheld since his departure from his father's court, the society of so many adventurous spirits into which he had been thrown, during his residence with his mother at Paris and Valenciennes, and the stirring scenes and incidents of which he had been an eye-witness since his landing in England, had made a very powerful impression on his imagination, and produced that bias for military spectacles and warlike achievements which subsequently made him regarded amongst the chivalry of Europe as the king Arthur of his age.

The same day that saw him numbered with the most distinguished knights of Europe beheld him, after a ceremony scarcely less imposing, enrolled amongst the greatest potentates in the civilised world. His coronation was brilliantly attended; and he was crowned by Walter Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury, in the abbey church at Westminster, where that prelate preached a sermon, taking for his text the phrase, "*Vox populi vox Dei*," in which he exhorted all the people to pray unto the King of kings for the king they had elected.⁴ The exhortation found, amongst the learned preacher's audience, many likely to pay it the attention it deserved, for the noblest and best of

¹ SANDFORD, *Geneal. Hist.* p. 158. KNIGHTON, 2550.

² ROTULI PAT. 1 EDW. III. p. ii. n. 13.

³ *Catal. Honour.* p. 575. DUGDALE, vol. i. p. 145.

⁴ STOW, p. 224. FROISSART, chap. xiv., states that Edward was crowned on Christmas-day; in which glaring error he is followed by STOW and some writers of our own times. For more trustworthy authority see RYMER (*Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 244), or even WALSHINGHAM (*Hist. Regum Angliæ*, p. 126).

those who had combined to place the royal youth in the elevated station he now occupied, were sure of desiring for him that stability for his government which they were satisfied the favour of Heaven could most securely bestow. They did not, however, fail to have recourse to such temporal assistance as was likely to gain the desired object; therefore, they resolved, in their places in parliament, that the inexperience of their young monarch should have the advantage of a council of regency, composed of twelve of the ablest statesmen and commanders in the kingdom¹, of which the earl of Lancaster was the chief, who was to have the custody of the king's person; but these wise resolves were to little purpose. The queen, with Mortimer and Adam de Orleton, the factious bishop, engrossed the whole power and offices of the realm; and those of the council who were not ready to be their tools, found themselves reduced to the condition of ciphers in the government. They saw this infamous triumvirate disposing of the resources of the state, for themselves and their creatures, with the most scandalous profusion.² The immense estates and treasures of the de Spencers were confiscated and appropriated to their use. Sir John of Hainault and his friends were rewarded with rich gifts, and the turbulent Londoners not only procured pardon for the atrocities they had committed, but obtained a new charter, containing many additional privileges.³ Acts of parliament were also passed for the security of all who had participated in the rebellion against Edward the Second.⁴

The people still held in remembrance the name of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who had been beheaded at Pontefract, by command of Edward of Cærnarvon, and the government took advantage of this feeling to keep

¹ These were the archbishops of Canterbury and York; the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; the earls of Lancaster, Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey; and the barons Percy, Wake, Ingham, and Ross. — *ILLAND, Coll.* vol. i. p. 685. KNIGHTON, 2556.

² The sum of 20,000*l.* was granted to the queen to pay her debts, besides an allowance of 20,000*l.* a-year. More than two-thirds of the whole revenues of the crown.

³ RYMER, vol. iv. p. 245.

⁴ *Primo Edw. III.* cap. 1.

up sentiments of animosity against the prisoner at Kenilworth. Not satisfied with giving back the confiscated land to the earl's representatives, and also restoring to their estates all who had suffered in his quarrel, a letter was written to the pope, in the name of the king, requesting the honour of canonisation for the deceased nobleman, on account of the many eminent qualities he is there stated to have possessed, and the numerous miracles, there as earnestly averred, wrought by the invocation of his name.¹

What may be considered as the first act of the reign of the new king was the promulgation of a general pardon for all offenders,—a precedent of questionable character, which has since been followed by some of Edward's successors at the same period. Very little good was likely to be done by letting loose upon society all that was most worthless and ungovernable in its ranks, at a time when the hands of authority had lately been so loosed that it required a long course of good government to reconcile the commonalty to a return to a state of order and obedience. The result was shortly afterwards seen in violent commotions which broke out in different parts of the kingdom. The exactions and insolence of the clergy belonging to some of the richest and most powerful abbeys, appear to have been regarded with great animosity by the laity of the towns in which they were located,—this feeling against them they seemed to care very little about, and treated their unclerical neighbours with as much indignity and injustice as they thought themselves safe in exhibiting. The monks of the abbey of Bury behaved so offensively that the inhabitants at last assembled in arms, beat down the gates, “bare out of the abbey all the gold, silver, ornaments, books, charters, and other writings, with the assay of their coins, stamps, and all other things pertaining to their mint; and all other goods of brass,

¹ *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 262. The following year Edward gave permission to collect subscriptions for the purpose of building a chapel where the earl was beheaded, and subsequently repeated his application for canonising him; nevertheless, Lancaster was not permitted to be considered a saint till the reign of Richard the Second.

pewter, iron, and lead." They burnt the houses of the abbot in the town; and after possessing themselves of the live stock and grain, destroyed, in the same manner, several manors belonging to him, wounded and imprisoned the monks, whom they forced to seal such charters as they put before them. To put an end to this tumult, the earl of Norfolk, marshal of England, Thomas Bardolph, and other powerful barons, were, by the king's commission, directed to use all means at their disposal, and having discovered the principal "malefactors," they were apprehended and convicted. Nineteen were hanged, and one pressed to death. Besides which, the inhabitants were condemned to pay the abbot, "toward" the damage his property had received, the sum of 140,000*l*. But the king, who had arrived at Bury with his court, persuaded the monks to be satisfied with the payment of 2000 marks within a period of the next twenty years, on the people of Bury giving security for their good behaviour.¹

Scarcely was this riot put down, when another of an equally alarming character broke out at Canterbury. This arose in consequence of a refusal of the numerous clergy in that ecclesiastical city to assist the citizens in furnishing twelve horsemen for the king's use, as they had been commanded. The latter, burdened with many exactions, thought it but right that those communities established amongst them, that lived upon the fat of the land, should contribute to the support of the state as well as themselves; but the monks claimed their privilege of exemption, "for so much as the kings of England had founded their church in free and perpetual alms." This excuse by no means satisfied the citizens, and they assembled tumultuously, and seemed determined on having recourse to violent measures. There is no record of this "stirre," as Stow calls it; but it is believed that the commons found the monks "too many" for them. However, it is certain that the monastic establishments were in ill repute with the great body of the people, who, all over the country,

¹ *Regist. of Bury*, cited by Stow.

were in no state to tolerate oppression or insolence.¹ With the elements of discord so apparent, the young king had to venture upon the difficult office of government, and unfortunately there existed evils of still greater magnitude, which, had his abilities been equal to the exigency, would have prevented his employing the necessary measures to breathe a more healthful spirit amongst his people. The queen and her paramour gave themselves little trouble about the king. They managed all affairs of state, and left the youthful sovereign with about as little power in the government as the humblest of his subjects. He seemed, however, at this time to care more for cultivating his military predilections than for interfering with the management of his kingdom, and there were some brave men about his person who took pains to foster his martial ardour as much as possible. A warlike monarch, sufficiently brave and skilful to repair the disasters of the last reign, was much needed. On the continent the English name had fallen into disrepute, and nearer home, the Scots had regarded it with so little respect that their audacity became intolerable.² The disturbed state of England was a great temptation to them, and notwithstanding there existed a truce between the two nations, a prospect of a long minority seemed to afford them complete impunity for any aggressions they chose to commit. Robert de Bruce,

¹ Many authorities could be quoted to strengthen this unfavourable description of the whole body of the priesthood at this period; but it should not be forgotten, that however objectionable may have been their behaviour in some respects, there were several very distinguished examples amongst them of piety, charity, and scholarship. In short, we are indebted to them almost entirely for the literature of the period; and from their ranks were drawn not only whatever possessed pretensions to science and learning, but also to statesmanship. Their charity was often comprehensive beyond all modern examples; and if they, as a body, thus deserve censure for exhibiting themselves offensively to their lay brethren, the admirable promptitude with which they rarely failed to come forward to allay the animosities of hostile kings and turbulent barons, entitles them to very high commendation.

² On the day of the young king's coronation, a strong party of Scots passed the borders and attempted to surprise the castle of Norham; they found, however, the garrison prepared, and received so rough a reception that they were glad to beat a retreat.

the king of Scotland, though now suffering from the infirmities of age, could not allow so favourable an opportunity for commencing a war upon his "natural enemies" to be neglected, and sent a defiance to the young king, threatening his kingdom with a speedy invasion.

The people of England were roused by this insult, and but little time elapsed before warlike preparations on an extensive scale were carried on in every part of the kingdom. To strengthen the resources at the disposal of the sovereign, the queen sent for her champion, Sir John de Beaumont, who obeyed her summons with a force amounting to 2000 armed men of various nations. The employment of foreign auxiliaries was regarded with intense jealousy and discontent throughout England; and whilst king Edward, or more properly speaking, his mother, was engaged at York, where the English army was being concentrated, in giving the most magnificent entertainment to the numerous nobles and knights of Hainault, Flanders, and Artois, Sir John had brought with him, a quarrel arose between some of the English archers and the servants and horse-boys of the strangers, which spread so rapidly, and was so furiously carried on, that before measures could be taken for its suppression, a great number had been killed on both sides. The young king by his personal interference put a stop to these hostilities, and with the assistance of Isabella was enabled to restore the camp to something like a state of order, but neither effected any real good, for the foreign mercenaries suddenly appeared in great force, and fell upon the archers of Northampton and Lincolnshire, of whom they killed more than 300. This cowardly revenge so enraged the whole body of the English army, that they would immediately have attacked the strangers and cut them off to a man, had not king Edward once more interposed, and partly by argument, partly by surrounding the foreigners by a protecting force, succeeded in lulling the storm.¹

¹ FROISSART, chap. xvi., gives a detailed description of this quarrel, which broke out at the house of the Black Friars, in York (not at the

On a force composed of such materials, no reliance could be placed, and king Edward was much too inexperienced a commander to be able to amalgamate his foreign and native troops so as to make them act with one impulse and in one spirit. The English soldiers were undisciplined, dissatisfied with their government, and hated their allies more intensely than they did the enemy; and the foreigners had no inclination in the quarrel in which their services had been engaged, and regarded the people they had come to assist, with feelings the reverse of those which should actuate an important division of a great body of men having one common object. As if with a distrust of such means for waging a successful war, whilst the king remained at York, efforts were made by those who held the reins of authority to bring about a peace with Scotland; but probably the Scottish king was well acquainted with the state of the English army, for after the ambassadors had spent several weeks to no purpose, all idea of peace was abandoned, and directions given by the marshals of the English camp at York to prepare for an immediate march. By this time a sufficient interval had elapsed to allow of the existence of a better understanding between the Hainaulters and the English; but no confidence could be placed in it—they coalesced in appearance only; they never looked with cordiality upon each other. If any thing could have brought them into better humour, it might be supposed this would have been the excellent quarters they both found themselves in, “good wines from Gascony, Alsace, and the Rhine, were in abundance and reasonable; poultry and other such provisions at a low price; hay, oats, and straw, of a good quality and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.”¹ In

Blackfriars in London, as Miss Strickland seems to imagine, *Queens of England*, vol. ii. p. 273), where Isabella was giving a splendid entertainment to her foreign friends; but he throws the blame upon the English archers, whom he accuses of wanting to massacre their allies, who, only by being constantly on their guard, managed to preserve their lives. For another account, though not generally correct, see *LELANDI Collectanea*, vol. i. part 2, p. 307.

¹ FROISSART, chap. xvi.

short, the army appeared to want nothing necessary for their comfort but a sufficiency of good humour.

A great deal of time having been spent in idle entertainments for the commanders, and useless negotiations with the enemy, the king took leave of his mother, and having with him the earl of Kent, Sir John of Hainault, and other distinguished commanders, marched out of York and proceeded towards Scotland, for about six leagues, where the first division halted for two days, waiting, says Froissart, for money to defray the expenses of the expedition, and to see that every necessary arrangement had been made for the accommodation and effectiveness of the army. Thence they proceeded to Newcastle, where the king was joined by a considerable force under the command of the lord marshal. Here it was ascertained that a Scottish army, under the command of the earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas, almost entirely composed of cavalry, which had crossed the borders, committing great ravages and making an immense booty, had retreated upon gaining intelligence of the advance of the English forces.¹ The king pushed forward his troops, and soon found traces of the enemy in the smoking ruins which lay in their line of march; but such were the only signs of them they could meet with, and after a long and fruitless pursuit—a council of war having been assembled—it was resolved that the baggage should be left behind well guarded, while that portion of the army which was best fitted for rapid marches should cross the Tyne, and endeavour to intercept the Scots on their return.²

Edward of Windsor put himself at the head of these select troops, and started in the full hope of soon being able to punish the invaders of his kingdom; but from want of proper intelligence, or some defect in the military arrangements,³ the men were led about from

¹ HOLINSHED, *Hist. Scot.* p. 228.

² FROISSART, chap. xviii.

³ The king was too young to have the exclusive direction of the movements of his army; the credit of these is undoubtedly due to the earl of Kent. According to Froissart's account it is impossible to imagine such a series of blunders as distinguished this expedition; not even the most

place to place without provision for themselves or fodder for their horses, wandering they knew not where, and unable to ascertain the direction in which the Scots were proceeding. Sometimes the young king found lodging in an old monastery, often he could not procure even such sorry accommodation as there awaited him; and for three days he was forced to share the privations of his troops in a wild-goose chase, climbing steep hills, floundering through marshes, and stumbling over almost impracticable fords, with the rain coming down in torrents. At last some of the captains learned from a peasant they happened to fall in with, that they were fourteen miles from Newcastle and eleven from Carlisle, and by despatching messengers they managed to obtain from these places some refreshment for the wearied men and the jaded horses. "Hunger, however," says Froissart, "was still felt in the camp, notwithstanding this supply, and frequent quarrels happened from their tearing the meat out of each other's hands." The rain had rotted the saddles and girths; many of the horses required to be shod without there being the slightest possibility of its being done; and though the men had no protection from the weather but huts hastily constructed of green boughs, they could not obtain a fire, the wood having become too wet to ignite.

In this miserable condition, it is not surprising that murmurs should have been heard, and that suspicious were entertained that the principal commanders were about to betray the king; but this distrust seems to have abated when orders were given to march, and a proclamation was made, promising to any one who succeeded in discovering the enemy, the honour of knighthood by the hand of the king, and land of the annual value of 100*l*.¹ This offer was too tempting to be neglected, and several adventurers started forth in different directions. A better spirit began to shew itself, and the whole force, notwithstanding their suf-

ordinary arrangements were attempted to secure food and other accommodations for so large a body of men and horses.

¹ *Foedera*, vol. iv. p. 312.

ferings and the difficulties of the passage, recrossed the river in good order. But still they continued their unprofitable wandering; not a glimpse of the enemy was to be seen, though the most aggravating signs of their having recently been in the neighbourhood they could not fail to behold wherever they went; at last, when the patience of all the host was once more beginning to give way, an esquire, named Thomas de Rokeby,¹ one of those who had started a few days before in search of the Scots, rapidly rode up, and to the infinite satisfaction of the harassed soldiers, brought undoubted intelligence of the enemy.

It appears that the two armies, though but a trifling distance apart, had been in entire ignorance of each other's movements. Rokeby had suddenly come upon the object of his search, and when he made known the anxiety of his countrymen to discover them, and the reward he was to receive for bringing certain information of their situation, his captors chivalrously allowed him to depart, expressing as much desire to meet the English, as the latter could have to meet them. The fortunate esquire obtained his reward,² and king Edward, after hearing mass, took measures for the repose of his men, that they might be well refreshed and prepared for a fierce encounter. Early the next morning the whole army was in full march in excellent order, led by their gallant young sovereign; and discovered the Scottish army about twelve o'clock. They were placed in a strong position, on the descent of a high hill, with the river Were in their front, which on reconnoitring, the English commanders found too well defended to afford hopes of their forcing. They brought up their men and made dispositions as if for an attack. The king created many new knights, and rode on horseback along the ranks, addressing the different divisions of his force "most graciously," and then ordered a general advance. He pushed forward

¹ FROISSART, chap. xviii.

² Rokeby received an order on the Exchequer for 100*l.* to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter till the same value in land could be settled upon him.

his battalions as far as the foot of the hill on which the enemy were so advantageously placed, but this manœuvre made no impression—the Scottish host did not move a man. The river was examined to see if a passage was possible; but the current was so rapid, and the banks afforded such facilities for defence, that all idea of attempting to pass it, in the face of the well-appointed force so close at hand, was abandoned. Then heralds were sent with an offer from king Edward, to retire if the Scottish army would pass the river and meet him in the valley. But the Scottish generals knew better; they chose to remain where they were, and dared the English to attack them. Seeing that there was no help for it, king Edward ordered his men to encamp where they were; and here, with the hope of driving the enemy out of their stronghold by starvation, they remained, with sometimes a slight skirmish, for three days. On the morning of the fourth day the enemy disappeared. They had contrived unseen and unsuspected (such was the sort of vigilance with which they were watched) to leave their encampment, and had obtained a still stronger position at a little distance.

King Edward went in pursuit; but although there is no doubt his inclination was for an immediate battle, which his followers equally desired, he passed day after day in the same tedious watching as had distinguished the previous ones, occasionally sending heralds to offer the Scots battle, which they judiciously declined. The monotony of this sort of existence was disturbed, in any thing but an agreeable manner, by an assault upon the English camp at night, by Sir James Douglas and about 200 men at arms.¹ They contrived to pass the river unnoticed, and so unprepared were the English forces for such a visit, that Sir James very nearly succeeded in reaching the king in his tent; but he was there stopped, and, after killing about 300 men, recrossed the river with very little loss.² It will not surprise the reader, after such repeated proofs as he

¹ FROISSART, chap. xviii.

² KNIGHTON, 2552.

has had of the miserable inefficiency of the responsible commanders of this expedition, to learn that they were again easily deluded by the enemy, who marched out of their position, and were four or five leagues on their road home before their absence was discovered. Pursuit was very rationally considered useless, and the English army marched back to Durham, where they found the baggage they had abandoned had been carefully transported, and thence proceeded to York, where Isabella was as liberal of her entertainments to her son and his most distinguished captains, as though they had not been engaged in a campaign, only less inglorious than the disastrous ones of Edward the Second. Here the army was disbanded, and the auxiliaries sent out of the country, accompanied to the port whence they were to embark by a strong detachment, to shield them from the fury of the English archers, but not until Sir John de Beaumont, "the queen's champion," had received for their services a reward very far beyond their value.¹

Had there been any thing resembling good generalship in the council appointed to assist their inexperienced monarch, the expedition would have had totally different consequences. The English army was sufficiently powerful to have been divided into two distinct forces, one of which might have defended the borders and kept Sir James Douglas in check, whilst the other penetrated into Scotland, where there was nothing to prevent the young commander making a fearful retaliation for the various marauding incursions which the Scots had made into some of the richest counties in England since the death of Edward the First. But the

¹ In RYMER will be found an order, dated York, June 28, 1327, to pay 7000*l.* to John of Hainault, in part of a subsidy of 14,000*l.*, as agreed on, for the services of himself and his companions. In July 4, of the same year, there is an order to provide carriages for them, to continue in force till the ensuing Michaelmas. A third order, from York, August 20, directs the treasurer to pay Sir John, on his arrival in London, the sum of 4000*l.*, to satisfy his loss in horses, commanding that the crown jewels should be pawned if there was not sufficient money in his hands to pay him. A passport of the same date commands that none should do him harm; and an order from the king at Evesham, June 28, 1328, provides for the payment of the remaining 7000*l.*

earl of Kent appears to have had no military genius, and of Sir John de Beaumont's capacity as a commander, no very striking proof can be discovered in his career. A much greater degree of blame has been attributed to Roger Mortimer, to whose negligence and incapacity, the privations, the blunders, and the inutility of the force, may be traced.

King Edward was much disappointed by the result of this his first campaign, but his feelings were little consulted by Isabella and her all-powerful favourite. Through their influence, a discreditable war was concluded with a disgraceful peace, one article of which bound the king of England to renounce, for himself and his heirs, all claim to superiority over Scotland, and to deliver up every existing evidence of this superiority in his possession;¹ whilst in another, arrangements were made for a marriage between David de Bruce, heir to the throne of Scotland, and Joanna, sister of king Edward. For such conditions Robert de Bruce willingly agreed to pay 30,000 marks, which were no sooner received than they were divided between Isabella and Mortimer.

Whilst affairs were thus proceeding with the ruling powers, the poor dethroned Edward of Carnarvon was enduring close imprisonment at Kenilworth Castle. Henry of Lancaster proved a kind gaoler, and made his situation as comfortable as possible, whilst the worthless Isabella, to whom he continued to write the most touching letters, afforded him glimpses of hope and comfort by delusive messages and treacherous presents; but she and her counsellors took alarm at the intelligence they received of the consideration with which the unhappy king was treated by the earl of Lancaster, and immediately despatched two of the vilest of their creatures, John de Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gournay, joined with Thomas Lord Berkeley

¹ RYMER, vol. iv. p. 338. Among the fruits of Edward's victories, which were now to be so disgracefully surrendered, were the Scottish regalia. The documents included the famous Ragman Roll; an acknowledgment on the part of certain individuals in Scotland of the fealty and homage they were bound to pay the kings of England as their superior lord.

—a much more respectable character—to take him out of the earl's custody; it having been arranged that they should each alternately have the care of him for a month.¹ Edward left Kenilworth April 3d, but he soon discovered that a change, very much for the worse, had been made in his gaolers. Insulting in their manners, and careless of his comfort, they dragged him about in the night from castle to castle, without sufficient clothing for his body, or the slightest covering for his head. The infamous usage he received appears to have affected his intellect, for when the brutal Maltravers one day, while exerting that spirit of petty tyranny such base natures are ever inclined to exhibit towards those in their power, insisted that the king should be shaved with some cold and dirty water, which had been brought for the purpose, the unhappy monarch felt the indignity so much that he burst into tears, and then, as they flowed down his haggard cheeks, he cried out to his persecutors with childish exultation, "See, I have provided clean and warm water whether you will or not!"²

There is, unfortunately, too much reason for believing that this infamous treatment of the unhappy prince had an infamous object,—the insults which were heaped upon him day after day, and the sufferings he was forced to endure, seemed to have been planned to drive the miserable monarch to end his wretched life by his own hand; and should he fail to commit the desired self-murder, the wretches who wished it knew well enough that their victim's constitution must give way under the influence of his unendurable sufferings. But, insulted as he was, he had still friends, for many of his subjects had discovered the true disposition of those whom they had so lately hailed as deliverers,

¹ DE LA MORE, p. 600. WALSINGHAM, p. 127.

² *Anonym. Hist.* p. 838, cited by HENRY, *Hist. of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 155. The same anecdote, with a slight variation, is told by DE LA MORE. Gournay distinguished himself in a manner equally infamous, for as the dejected monarch was riding bare-headed upon a sorry hack, in the custody of his keepers, whilst passing a certain grange, Gournay placed a crown of straw upon his head, exclaiming, "Fare forth, sir king."

and repenting their folly, began to regard with compassion their ill-used and imprisoned monarch, of whose meekness under his sufferings many moving stories were in general circulation. The most zealous of these friends were the lower orders of the priesthood, who, no less scandalised at the behaviour of the queen than indignant at the treatment of her husband, did not fail to express their opinions, both freely and forcibly, among that class of the community with whom they most associated. The effect of this was, that a plan was entertained among the citizens of Bristol for taking the king out of the hands of his tormentors, as they were proceeding with him from Corfe in Dorsetshire to Bristol Castle; but their design was intrusted to too many to be kept secret, and it coming to the ears of Mortimer, he took instant measures to prevent it, by having the king conveyed to another residence.¹

Here the barbarity of his keepers was aggravated to an extent that becomes incredible. His faithful servant, Thomas de la More, in the record he has left of the life of his royal master, states, that among other atrocities, of which Gournay and Maltravers were guilty, they left in the king's chamber, and in the adjacent places, putrid carcasses—doubtless expecting they would breed a fever, or render the life of their victim intolerable. They, however, were doomed to be disappointed. The miserable monarch remained free from sickness, and dragged on life, although he would have been glad enough to have changed places with the humblest artificer in the kingdom.² The infamous triumvirate who ruled the state were watching these experiments with great anxiety. There were indications in public opinion, not to be mistaken, that a change to their disadvantage was taking place throughout the country; should this lead to the liberation and

¹ The Dominican Friars seem to have commenced the movement in favour of their unhappy monarch. — LELAND, *Col.* vol. ii. p. 475. WAL-SINGHAM, p. 127. There is an order preserved in the *Fadera*, vol. iv. p. 304, to take bail offered for William Alymere, accused of an intention to rescue Edward of Carnarvon from prison. It is signed by the young king, and dated York, August 20, 1327.

² BARNES, p. 20.

restoration of Edward the Second, their offences were of such a nature that they could scarcely escape the severest punishment. Their only chance of security appeared in the death of their dethroned sovereign, which would take from the people all reasonable cause, as they fancied, for desiring to put an end to the existing order of things. The young king was sufficiently popular to make an attempt against him very improbable, and was too young and, as they believed, too indolent to have any intentions of taking into his hands more influence in the government than they desired. Therefore it was resolved that a speedy end should be put to the miseries of their prisoner and to their own fears.

There is some difficulty in reconciling the mind to the belief that Isabella shared in these murderous designs against her lord ; but where due attention is paid to the infamous career of this " she-wolf of France," and it is remembered how completely she was the willing instrument of Mortimer, who had many reasons for hastening his sovereign's death, conviction must follow. As for Adam de Orleton, his guilt is only too manifest ; but his opinion having been required, with a craft worthy of a Machiavel, he wrote it in such terms that, merely by altering the place of a comma, it is in favour or against the projected assassination.¹ The principal conspirators agreed that Edward should be got rid of, and there was nothing now necessary for the fulfilment of their infamous design but the choice of some method of taking away life, which, by leaving no outward

¹ DE LA MORE. The words of the bishop of Hereford are, "*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*" The sense, by placing the comma after *timere*, is in favour of the deed, but by making it follow *nolite*, as decidedly condemns it. The same words, with the alteration of *Edwardum* for *Reginam*, had been employed a considerable period before this by another prelate against his queen, which, together with Adam de Orleton being abroad at the time of the murder, has been considered sufficient grounds for acquitting him of any participation in it ; but he was just the man to alter such a phrase, and his being out of the kingdom is in favour of his having sent such a communication, for had he been in his customary place, he could have given his advice orally, which would have rendered ambiguousness in that " famous sophistical sentence," as Barnes calls it, impossible.

marks, should prevent any suspicion arising that he had been unfairly dealt with,¹ for were such to exist, they had good cause for dreading a popular outbreak. The means having been decided upon, and fit agents having already been provided in the persons of Gournay and Maltravers, the hours of Edward of Cærnarvon were numbered.

At this time the wretched monarch was at Berkeley Castle,² which its lord left to the possession of his villainous coadjutors, and was, or assumed to be, confined at Bradley by indisposition. Shortly afterwards a report was circulated in the neighbourhood that the king was dead, which was confirmed by his corpse being exposed to public view, to which the prior of Bristol, the abbot of Gloucester, the burgesses of these towns, and such nobles and knights as resided within a convenient distance of the castle, were summoned. Though few proceeded there without distrust, they saw nothing in the appearance of the body, except some discoloration about the face, to warrant it. There was no evidence that the deceased had been hurried out of the world either by poison, strangulation, or any of the ordinary modes of violent death; nevertheless suspicions *were* raised, which gradually gained ground in the public mind by several circumstances that became known, and in due course of time the manner in which this atrocious deed was perpetrated was discovered. The transaction is of so horrible a nature, that it is scarcely possible to believe it could have found human beings so lost to all sense of humanity as to have been concerned in it; but, from the accounts handed down to us, of this and other atrocities which disgraced the middle ages, it must be pronounced but too probable. The instrument of death was a pipe, forcibly thrust through the lower viscera, up which was inserted a red-hot iron, which, with the

¹ *MS. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. Corp. Christ. Coll. Cantab. c. 215.*

² In RYMER, vol. iv. pp. 287, 294, may be found two assignments to Gournay and Maltravers for the provision of the king's father, whilst confined in this place. One bears the date, stamped April 24, 1327; the other, Aldewerk, near York, July 5th, of the same year.

most dreadful agonies, soon deprived the screaming wretch of sensation, as he was fixed down on his bed by a table pressed upon him by those who were assisting in his murder.¹

Thus miserably ended the days of Edward of Cærnarvon, on the 21st of September, 1327, in the forty-third year of his age; and whatever may have been his faults, the indignation excited in the mind by a knowledge of the inhuman manner in which they were punished, tends to produce a more favourable verdict for him than is likely to follow from the judgment being confined to a consideration of his actions prior to his dethronement. But he was not without some good qualities.² In his expenses we find no profligate mistresses, and he is one of the few sovereigns of England who left no illegitimate offspring. He has afforded a noble evidence of his attachment to learning and to religion in his foundation of Oriel College, Oxford, originally called King's Hall; he had previously founded Langley Abbey, in Hertfordshire, for the purpose of there having perpetual prayers for the soul of Gavestone. He never stretched his prerogative to impose burdensome taxes, nor exercised his authority

¹ The particulars of this abominable regicide may be found in THOMAS DE LA MORE, p. 603; WALSINGHAM, p. 127; GRAFTON, p. 218; HARDING, c. 177; the MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, c. 215, and in various other historical authorities. The principal traitors were induced, by their own fears and the desires of their employers, to fly the country, soon after the commission of their crime, but Gournay was taken in Spain (not at Marseilles, as is usually stated, RYMER, vol. iv. p. 509) three years afterwards, and was beheaded whilst on his voyage to England, to prevent his exciting the indignation of the people against the king's mother by his disclosures. Maltravers is said to have repented his guilt, but lived a miserable life.

² He was evidently more foolish than wicked, though there is as little to be said in praise of his heart as of his intellect. He indulged in such unbecoming extravagances as bargaining with the gardeners on the banks of the Thames for cabbages with which to make his soup; going with a riotous party of his associates on a water excursion in a returned faggot-boat; patronising buffoons and laughing immoderately at their antics; and playing, with any vagabond who came in his way, the unregal game of chuck-farthing. In a MS. account of Edward of Cærnarvon's private expenses, the following extract affords a sample of these discreditable amusements:—

"*Item.*—Payé a jak de Seint Albon, peyntr; de Roi, qui daunsa, devant le roi, sur une table, et lui sist graudemment rire."

for the creation of tyrannical laws. If he condemned some unjustly, he pardoned many whose offences against him were clearly established. His defects were the natural growth of an indolence of disposition, which made the support of a favourite a necessity. Gavestone and the de Spencers took advantage of his weakness, and in the unscrupulous uses to which they put their influence over him, to gratify their own ambition, avarice, or hatred, may be traced the misgovernment of which his reign discloses such numerous examples. Among the writers who have attempted descriptions of his person and character, Ranulph Ilygden,¹ though severe, appears to be most worthy of confidence. He speaks favourably of his countenance and figure, but describes his disposition as fickle and inconstant. He accuses the king of taking pleasure in jesters, singers, players, rowers, and people of the same stamp. He also charges him with the very vulgar vice of drunkenness, with striking his servants for small offences, with being more ready to promise than to perform, with being prodigal in his gifts, extravagant in his entertainments, and with being entirely led by his favourite, on whom he squandered incalculable wealth, to the neglect of worthier men, the scandal of the people, his own disgrace, and the injury of the realm.

Much of this may fairly be attributed to defective education; but he was not without talent, or deficient in sensibility, though it took the harsh agency of adversity to bring them forth.

A Latin poem of considerable merit has been attributed to him, though the evidence on which his claim to the authorship is supported is far from being as satisfactory as might be desired.² Its tone partakes

¹ *Polychronicon*, lib. vii. c. 41. The reader who wishes to consult other authorities on this point may refer to KNIGHTON, 2531; *Catal. Honour*. p. 158; SPEED, p. 560; not forgetting the partial pen of THOMAS DE LA MORE.

² J. P. ANDREWS (*History of Great Britain connected with the Chronology of Europe*, 4to. vol. i. p. 346) puts forward what he calls the original poem, and a translation which has been copied into various works illustrative of the history of England; but Andrews quotes from Fabian, who gives an imperfect copy of the first six lines only of this production, though he

much more of the cloister than the court, and making every possible allowance for the change in his disposition likely to have been effected by that in his position, it is very questionable that he should have been able to express such sentiments as form the material of this composition; that he should, with an education notoriously neglected, have obtained such facility in Latin — an unusual accomplishment, the French being the language of the court — as to produce a poem of much excellence in that language; and that, though deprived of every comfort during his imprisonment, he should have been allowed such extraordinary an indulgence as the use of writing materials.

Cunningly as his murderers had contrived to stifle inquiry, his death produced considerable sensation in England, though some time elapsed before it made itself sufficiently manifest to create uneasiness in the government; but among the people of Wales, who were greatly attached to him, principally on account of his having been, by his father's judicious contrivance, their native prince, he was generally and deeply lamented, and their respect for his memory is still preserved in many touching elegies from their most popular bards.¹ The young king first obtained intelligence of his decease when at Lincoln, as he was proceeding from York to London; and his grief was both violent and sincere.² Here a parliament was summoned to meet

follows it with a translation of the whole, in verse, after his fashion.— (FABIAN'S *New Chronicles of England and France*, by Sir HENRY ELLIS, 4to. p. 431.) HORACE WALPOLE (*Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. i. p. 8, Edinburgh, 1792), on the authority of Bishop Tanner, announces that such a poem in MS. exists in the Herald's College; and though it is evident he has never seen a line of it, he pronounces an opinion on the authorship with his usual flippancy. The poem has been printed by Hearne (*Libri Nigri Scaccarii*, vol. sec. f. 425), and will be found in the *Annales Rerum Anglicarum* of William of Worcester, who is most probably the author, entitled, "Hic incipit lamentatio gloriosi regis Edwardi Carnarvon, quam edidit tempore suæ incarcerationis." It consists of 112 lines, or, as Mr. Andrews has divided them, of 224; which breathe a profound spirit of melancholy and piety. For the benefit of "the curious reader," it will find a place in the Appendix to this volume.

¹ SPEED, p. 549.

² KNIGHTON, 2552. There is an order from Edward III. preserved in the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 312, appointing anniversary prayers for

on the 13th of September,¹ but there is some doubt as to its continuing to sit there for any length of time, as there are no records of the business transacted; and it is evident that the king, in little more than a month after this, was in London, where he was received by the corporation and the citizens with great rejoicing. He soon well repaid their welcome, for at a great legislative meeting held at Westminster on the 13th of November,² he confirmed their privileges, and made important additions to them.

To prevent the death of his father producing any durable impression on the young king, Isabella sought to direct his attention into a more agreeable channel, and for some months he was deeply engaged with arrangements that were made for his marriage with the lady whose attractions and amiable qualities had so interested him during his sojourn at the court of her father, the earl of Hainault. The intriguing Adam de Orleton had been sent as chief of an embassy to the earl to demand the hand of the blooming Philippa for his youthful sovereign. Dispensation from the pope was obtained—the young people being within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity—and all other preliminaries arranged (the bishop of Hereford having been recalled for offending Mortimer and the queen, by securing for himself the rich bishopric of Winchester without making the very handsome *douceur* for it they had looked for), the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry received directions to bring the negotiation to a conclusion.³ This was accordingly done with as much

the soul of his deceased father, dated October 1327, at a place called Crokesden, lying on the road between Lincoln and Nottingham; so that he must then have left Lincoln.

¹ ROT. CLAUS. 1 ED. III. m. 161 Dors.

² JOH. TINMUTHE. *Hist. Aurea, ad hunc Annum.*

³ RYMER, vol. iv. The order is dated at Clipstowe, October 8th, 1327. A passport, in the same work, for the earl of Hainault to bring over his daughter, bears the date of the 28th of the following month, at the same place. Miss Strickland, who has given an admirable biography of Philippa of Hainault in her "Lives of the Queens of England," has fallen into an error in stating that the king was with his army in Scotland at the time of the landing of this princess in England. Some months had passed since his unprofitable campaign had been concluded; and when he proceeded to

despatch as possible, the marriage being performed by proxy at Valenciennes, soon after which the bride embarked at Wissan or Whitsand, near Calais, and landed at Dover, whence she proceeded to London, where she arrived, escorted by her uncle, John de Beaumont, and a magnificent retinue of friends and followers, on the 23d of December. She was welcomed into the city by a stately procession, and the grateful corporation, mindful of the privileges they had so recently received, presented her, by the hands of the mayor, with plate to the value of 300*l*. After having been magnificently entertained by the delighted citizens, she left London to join her youthful bridegroom at York, where he was obliged to be, to preside over a great assembly of the lords, the clergy, and the comunalty,¹ to decide upon the discreditable treaty with Scotland, for giving up those evidences of English sovereignty over that country which Edward the First had obtained after so much hard fighting; and to meet a deputation of the Scottish nobles who came to receive them, and to arrange the marriage between Joan of the Tower and David de Bruce, which took place in the month of July 1328.²

In consequence of this important business, the city of York was crowded with distinguished visitors; the season of Christmas was spent there with unusual festivity, and the entertainments increased in magnificence on the arrival of Philippa of Hainault and her attendants. She was united to Edward of Windsor on the 24th of January, under circumstances of great splendour, William Melton, archbishop of York, and John

York, it was to meet his parliament, that had there been summoned to take into consideration the discreditable treaty of peace which had been agreed to by Mortimer and Isabella.

¹ No material business was transacted by this parliament, in consequence of many lay and spiritual lords not attending it, and the Scottish treaty was not sanctioned by a legislative enactment till the meeting of the following parliament at Northampton, a little after Easter, the writ of summons for which was dated March the 5th. (ROT. CLAUD. 2 Ed. III. m. 3, Dors.) For the precious charter granted to the Scots, see *Chronicon Monast. de Lanercost*. Some other articles connected with the same proceedings may be found in KNIGHTON, in the *Fœdera*, and in the first volume of the Scottish Rolls published by the Record Commission.

² JOH. TINEMOUTH, *Hist. Aurea*, p. 229.

Hotham, bishop of Ely, assisting in the ceremony;¹ and for three weeks there was an uninterrupted succession of games, revels, and feasts. Sir John de Beaumont, enriched with many costly gifts from the queen-dowager, then left his fair niece to enjoy her happiness, and departed to his own country with all his followers,² except a few who were retained about the person of the queen-consort, among whom was a young knight from the town of Mauny, in the diocese of Cambray, who, though he is first heard of as filling the comparatively unimportant office of carver to the queen of England, subsequently, as the well-known Sir Walter Manny, distinguished himself among the most celebrated commanders of his time in the wars of her heroic lord.

Edward, whilst participating in the pleasures which followed this auspicious marriage, greatly to his credit, did not forget his murdered parent, to whose corpse the Benedictine monks of the abbey of St. Peter, in Gloucester, had been allowed on their solicitation to give Christian burial.³ On the 29th of February, he being still at York, gave orders for celebrating the obsequies of the deceased king.⁴ A month later he was engaged in the laudable endeavour to advance the happiness of his brother John of Eltham, by arranging a marriage between him and the daughter of the king of Castile, with which object he wrote both to father and daughter to express his consent and his desire that the union should be expedited as much as possible.⁵ He was then at Lincoln, but a parliament, which met a little after Easter, took him to Northampton, where the treaty with Scotland received its final settlement. But a subject for consideration equally important, though less discreditable, was discussed in this parliament; this was the claim of Edward the Third to the throne of France, in consequence of the death of Charles le

¹ MS. *Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 216. FABIAN, p. 195.

² FROISSART, chap. xix.

³ SPEED, 566.

⁴ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 337.

⁵ His letter to the lady is very brief, yet very much to the purpose.—*Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 344.

Bel in January last. After much debating, it was arranged that Adam de Orleton, bishop of Worcester, and Roger Northborough, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, should pass over into France without delay, and lay claim to that kingdom in the name of Edward, king of England, as nearest male heir in right of his mother Isabella, and endeavour to hinder the coronation of Philip de Valois, who had taken possession of the throne, though his pretensions existed in a relationship a degree farther removed than that of Edward. The prelates proceeded on their mission, but they were too late, Philip having been crowned at Rheims before they arrived; and nothing having been done, Edward did not consider himself strong enough at the present moment to attempt to obtain his inheritance by an appeal to the sword.

All this time, Mortimer held fast the reins of government, to the increasing discontent of the whole nation. He procured the dignity of earl of March in a parliament held at Salisbury towards the close of this year,¹ and conducted himself with so much insolence to the nobles of the kingdom, that the earl of Lancaster and lord Wake refused to attend this parliament, to which they had been summoned; the former giving as his reason for keeping away, that Mortimer had usurped the royal power, and would not allow him to approach the king, to fulfil the duties, to which he had been appointed by parliament, of chief chancellor and guardian of his person; and the other nobleman excused himself by stating grievances already endured from Mortimer, and fears of designs against him he knew him to entertain. The new-made earl, as if to bear down all opposition, had the audacity to attend this assembly, surrounded by a powerful body of armed retainers, which created such a stir in the country that not only did Lancaster and Wake fly to arms, but the king's uncles, the earls of Norfolk and Kent, and other barons, both in England and Wales, began to raise

¹ At the same time John of Eltham was created earl of Cornwall, and the chief of the Butlers of Ireland, earl of Ormond. — WALSINGHAM.

their forces with the intention of putting down the too ambitious favourite.¹ But the earl of Kent exhibited the same military incapacity that distinguished his campaign in Scotland; and Mortimer, by bringing his resources quickly into the field, taking care to have the king with him, and displaying some determination, created such an impression upon his opponents that very shortly they were all glad to make their submission to the king.² Mortimer shortly after this appeared to be in greater favour than ever, for king Edward, expressly to do him honour, made a progress through the marches of Wales to pay him a visit, when the earl entertained him most sumptuously.

Isabella was rapidly disgusting all her friends, and increasing the ranks of her enemies, as much by her rapacity and extravagance, as by the impropriety of her conduct with Mortimer. She is not only accused of impoverishing her son's exchequer, but of robbing his wife of her portion. Important matters, which were now being agitated throughout the kingdom, took off a good deal of the public attention from her delinquencies, but they did not pass by without notice, and only awaited the proper time to be properly punished. The principal subject of discourse now was the proceedings of the new king of France, who, as soon as he found himself fixed in his authority, had determined that besides acknowledging the justice of his title, his late competitor for his crown, should declare his own feudal inferiority by doing homage to him as his sovereign lord, for the duchy of Aquitaine and the earldom of Ponthieu. With this object he sent ambassadors to king Edward,³ who, on their arrival in England, presented

¹ In the Cambridge MS. the designs of the malcontents are expressed in a series of powerful resolutions.

² They were obliged to enter into recognisances and give security for their good behaviour to keep the peace for the future, with "great and small," throughout the kingdom, and promise to submit to the judgment of the next parliament for their offences passed. The earl of Lancaster was fined 11,000*l.*, but never paid it. — DUGDALE, vol. i. p. 145. JOHN TINEMOUTH, p. 229.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxiv., states the members of this embassy to have been the lord of Ancenis, the lord of Beausalt, with Monsieur Peter of

themselves before that monarch, at Windsor, and tried to fulfil their instructions. They caused considerable perplexity among the king's privy council. It was seen that the homage must be performed, and yet could not be without disallowing Edward's claim to the throne of France. It was at last resolved to record a protest against the act required of him, stating that it would be performed only to preserve the king's possessions in France.¹

This having satisfied the members of the council, it was decided that Dr. Gravesend, bishop of London, should return an answer to the ambassadors to the effect, "that the king his master would, in compliance with the desires of the French king, go over suddenly into France; and as to the homage demanded, he would do his devoir as he ought." The ambassadors, after meeting with very handsome treatment, set off with the message, which, when the king of France heard, he expressed himself exceedingly satisfied; and to make it as imposing as possible, he sent to the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca, to be present at the ceremony. King Edward was not averse to leave the country, though it is unlikely he was very willing publicly to exhibit himself in France as a vassal of his rival to the throne, but all things having been duly arranged, —leaving his brother, the earl of Cornwall, his lieutenant—he turned his back upon the unprincipled cabal who had hitherto kept him in insignificance, and, accompanied by his uncles, the earls of Norfolk and Kent, and a splendid retinue of barons, prelates and knights, with a guard of honour of 1000 men-at-arms, the young monarch proceeded across the Channel from Dover, on the 26th of May, 1329.² Although the earl

Orleans and Monsieur Peter of Massieres, two clerks learned in the laws. The chronicler proceeds to state that they were courteously entertained at Windsor, where the king and queen resided, but were obliged soon after to remove to Westminster, as the king lost no time in consulting his privy council, before whom they were called.

¹ To make this instrument the more impressive, one of his council appointed to be the king's procurator, laid his hands upon the holy gospels before the rest, and took an oath in confirmation of what it expressed.

² RYMER, vol. iv. Several papers on the subject of the homage,

of Kent had no genius for arms, he seems to have had some for diplomacy; and, freed from the busy spirit of Mortimer, he strove to give it fair play. He took care confidentially to enlighten his nephew, during their pleasant voyage together, as to the true nature of his own position and the disgraceful conduct of his mother and her associate; and, doubtless, did not fail to tell the moving story of his father's sufferings and death. It was injudicious in the earl of March to trust his sovereign to the society of one whose opinions against him he had publicly manifested; but possibly he fancied he had established his power on too firm a foundation to be shaken by so easily defeated a conspirator as the earl of Kent.

There is no doubt that the king received his uncle's communication with a becoming indignation. He had, however, business in hand which at the time took up his undivided attention; for having landed at Whitsand, he proceeded thence to Boulogne, where, after staying one day to refresh himself, he departed with all his attendants for Amiens, where preparations on a grand scale were being made for the approaching ceremony. At Monstreuille he was met by the constable of France, with a gallant company, sent by king Philip as soon as his landing had been made known to him, to do him honour. and the two retinues mingled together in one procession with not less cordiality than magnificence. In this order they arrived at Amiens, where king Philip had collected the principal peers of France and the foreign potentates whom he could prevail upon to come, ostensibly to do honour to the young king of England, but in reality to witness his own superiority formally established. The town was crowded with strangers, for whose entertainment due provision had been made, and when Edward arrived he was very handsomely received, and magnificently feasted for fifteen days.

The day for which so much preparation had been

¹including a letter from Edward to Philip, dated April 14, 1329, stating that he had long resolved to pay his respects to him, may be found in this volume of the *Fœdera*.

made at last arrived, and the cathedral of Amiens was crowded with the nobles, knights, and prelates of England and France, to witness the much-talked-of ceremony. King Edward appeared in a stately robe of crimson velvet, embroidered with leopards of gold; his royal crown upon his youthful brow, a sword at his side, and golden spurs at his heels; and king Philip sat enthroned to receive him, in an equally costly robe of violet-coloured velvet, embroidered with golden *fleurs des lis*, bearing his royal sceptre and crown, and surrounded by all the imposing attendants on majesty. It is stated,¹ that when the young monarch beheld with what pride his rival chose to receive his submission, he was moved to perform his homage in a less humble manner than he had intended; but it is much more reasonable to suppose that the arrangement of this important act had been settled by his privy council before he left England.² King Edward strode boldly up to the throne, and after making a slight obeisance to the French king, exclaimed, with equal dignity and decision, "I Edward, by the grace of God; king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, do hereby do homage to thee, Philip, king of France, to hold the duchy of Guienne as duke thereof, and the earldom of Ponthieu and Monstreuille as earl thereof, and as a peer of France, in like manner as my predecessors did homage for the said dukedom and earldom to thy predecessors."

The viscount Melan, chamberlain of France, at his

¹ BARNES, p. 36.

² Before the performances of the ceremony there had been several conferences between Philip Miles de Noyers, chamberlain of France, and the bishop of Lincoln, as the principal officers of king Philip and king Edward, concerning the manner in which the homage was to be performed; the French monarch desiring to extort "liege homage," which is performed by the vassal, deprived of his sword and spurs, bare-headed, and with joined hands laid upon a copy of the Evangelists, receiving a kiss from his lord on taking the oath; but the young king of England was in no mood for doing any thing so submissive. There was also an objection on the part of Philip's officer to receive the homage of Edward for the lands the latter possessed, or ought to possess, in Gascony and the Agenois, but the bishop of Lincoln protested against any homage his royal master might perform, prejudicing his right to all Guienne and its dependencies.

master's suggestion, acquainted king Edward, that he ought, after the manner of his predecessors, to take off his crown, lay aside his sword and spurs, go down on his knees, and place his hands between the knees of the king of France; but the youthful monarch would not hear of such a thing, denying that any crowned head had so humbled himself to another. A number of documents were then laid before him, which it was affirmed were the proper authorities, but Edward declined acknowledging their evidence, promising that, if, when he had consulted his own records, he found what was required of him was proper, he would grant it as publicly as possible. With this promise Philip of Valois was obliged to be satisfied; and the chamberlain, then addressing the king of England said, "Sire, you become the liege man to my lord the king, for the duchy of Guienne, and its dependencies, which you acknowledge to hold from him, as peer of France, and duke of Guienne, according to the form of the peace made between his and your predecessors, the kings of France and England; and according as you and your ancestors, the dukes of Guienne, have performed for the said duchy to his ancestors the kings of France."

"I do," answered king Edward.

"Sire," continued the chamberlain, "the king of France receives you according to the protestations already made."

"I do," said king Philip.

Edward then put his hands within those of Philip, who acknowledged his homage with a kiss on the mouth. Homage in the same form was then performed by the young king of England for the earldom of Ponthieu and Monstreuille, and accepted by the king of France in the same manner.¹ The latter was no doubt much

¹ Mr. JAMES (*History of Edward the Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 29, 2d edition) seems to consider that the documents he furnishes from Rymer are conclusive as to the fulness of the homage; but had this performance of the ceremony been satisfactory, why should Philip have so soon afterwards insisted on a more complete acknowledgment? The mere placing the hands of the vassal in those of the lord, and receiving from him the kiss

disappointed that he could not make the submission of his youthful rival the gratifying spectacle for which he had required the presence of the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca, and such a vast assemblage of distinguished personages as had been attracted to Amiens; but he satisfied himself with the hope of successfully insisting upon his claims at some future time. It has been stated¹ that he was so deeply affronted with the public refusal of Edward to accede to his wishes, as to have entertained intentions of seizing his person secretly, and holding him in confinement till he had made him fulfil whatever conditions he pleased; but that the bishop of Lincoln hearing of the project, caused his lord to defeat these intentions by leaving France suddenly. Though there is scarcely sufficient authority for such a statement, Philip de Valois appears to have been exactly the sort of character to have adopted such proceedings.²

Edward returned to England on the 11th of June, where he was welcomed by his loyal subjects and devoted queen, with every demonstration of gladness and affection. But Philip de Valois did not allow him long to remain undisturbed on the disagreeable subject of the humiliating ceremony he had with so much spirit avoided. Ambassadors of considerable distinction followed him from France to obtain satisfaction for their master for the due performance of the homage,³ but they did not present themselves in England till some time after Edward had despatched the earl of Lancaster and the bishop of Norwich to Paris to arrange the matter in dispute; the arrangement in their

of acceptance, formed but a portion only of the act of submission; and what was most humiliating, Edward would not and did not perform.

¹ KNIGHTON, 2555.

² During Edward's stay at Amiens he had entered into negotiations for the marriage of his brother and sister to the children of Philip, which he followed up on his return to England, there existing in the *Fœdera*, memoranda dated at Canterbury the 16th of June, and subsequently at Gloucester the 24th of September following, for this double union.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxiv. enumerates among this embassy the bishops of Chartres and of Beauvais, the Duke de Bourbon, the counts de Harcourt and de Tancarville, and the lord Louis de Clermont.

hands proceeding too slowly to satisfy the French king.¹ But Edward and his counsellors had no intention of hurrying themselves for his satisfaction. They were entertaining a very different design. What the young king of England had seen of France strengthened in him the determination to consider that fine country his inheritance ; and as his inclinations were shared by the bravest and wisest of his subjects, they were not suffered to be idle. There was, however, much to be done, and the attainment of such an object all knew to require the most careful measures. England was not in a position to rush into a war with France, and for some time to come, it was seen that more was to be done by diplomacy than by the sword.

Edward took care that the ambassadors should be handsomely entertained ; and whilst he evaded their demands he provided they should be kept in good humour. Spectacles and games succeeded each other in admirable variety. Of the former, the most interesting to him, must have been the coronation of his amiable queen Philippa, which took place in Westminster abbey early in the spring, after which he proceeded with her to Woodstock, where in the month of June following she greatly increased the attachment with which she was regarded by her lord and his subjects, by giving birth to a son — Edward the Black Prince — whose name cannot but be regarded with pride and admiration by the English reader. In the festivities which followed this welcome birth the French ambassadors were treated with marked attention. The negotiation, however, which occasioned their stay in England, went on very slowly, much to the dissatisfaction of Philip de Valois. In the meantime Edward was making foreign alliances, and strengthening his resources by every means in his power.² His mind appears to have been engaged with more than one most

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 407. One memorandum of instructions to these ambassadors is dated Kenilworth, 3d December, 1339 ; and another, Eltham, the 27th of the following January.

² A variety of papers which shew the extent of Edward's diplomacy in this year 1330 are preserved in the fourth volume of the *Fœdera*.

important project, which he was only waiting a favourable opportunity to realise.

During this period the queen mother had continued in the same reckless course of conduct, which had for some time past so disgracefully marked her career; and the earl of March had as little abated his pride, his insolence, and his tyranny. On the king's return from France, it could not escape the keen eyes which had so closely watched him, that he had been influenced by sinister communications, and they were not long in discovering the source whence they had proceeded. The earl of Kent was equally hateful to Isabella and Mortimer, and they resolved to effect his destruction. The same fatuity which marked this nobleman's previous actions in the present reign attended him in another attempt to put himself prominently forward in the public eye. He was easily cajoled into the conviction that Edward of Cærnarvon was still alive, and languishing in prison, and readily inveigled into putting himself at the head of a party with the avowed intention of effecting his liberation.¹ Satisfactory proof having been obtained of his connexion with this clumsy conspiracy, he was arraigned before his peers.² The principal evidence against him was a letter which he had had the indiscretion to write, and the greater indiscretion to intrust to a creature of Mortimer's.

This clear case, coupled with the knowledge of his previous conspiracy, satisfied his judges: he was readily found guilty, and condemned to death. Isabella never rested till, without the king's knowledge, she obtained a warrant for his uncle's execution, and Mortimer, fearful of any delay procuring a pardon, despatched it at once to the proper officers, and the unfortunate earl of Kent was beheaded at Winchester on the 19th of March.³

¹ *MS. Vet. Ang. in Bibl. Corp. Christ. Coll. Cantab. c. 213.*

² *ROT. CLAUS. 4 EDW. III. m. 41. Dors. LELAND'S Collectanea.* WALSHINGHAM and KNIGHTON may be advantageously consulted for details of this plot to destroy the earl of Kent; and the account of it given by BARNES, p. 40, is drawn from the best authorities.

³ *KNIGHTON, 2555.* There were many persons concerned in this conspiracy, some of whom were fined, some imprisoned, and many

Edward deeply regretted his death, and caused the body to be buried with proper respect by the friars preachers at Winchester; but with his sorrow, mingled no small share of indignation, at this and other instances in which his authority had been set aside, and he and his queen treated with almost as little consideration as if they had been children, or persons of no name or influence.

Mortimer seems to have fancied, that by this blow at one of the highest of the nobles, he should strike a wholesome terror into the ranks of those amongst them whom he knew to be any thing but well disposed towards him : but in this he certainly overshot his mark. There appears from this time to have been a combination against him which grew every day more formidable. Notwithstanding his vigilance, his conduct was represented to the king in its proper light, and no doubt some stress laid on the late execution, as, in the death of the king's uncle, shewing how near he was approaching to the destruction of the king. These communications were not lost upon Edward. He was now of an age when the tutelage in which he had so long been kept was no longer endurable, and he possessed a spirit not likely to rest satisfied under the great indignities the haughty Mortimer was so reckless as to exhibit towards him. The wealth this bad man had accumulated, and the numerous dependants he was enabled to retain, gave him the means of making in public a much more imposing appearance than his sovereign, added to which he kept the machinery of government so entirely at his own disposal that he exercised all the power as well as assumed all the state of a monarch.¹

The young king shortly came to a proper understanding with the malcontents, and it was resolved that a bold effort should be made against the earl of March;

exiled. The bishop of London escaped unharmed, but many of the inferior clergy, amongst whom were the Carmelite friars and the Black Preaching friars, were either put into prison or sent out of the country. WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 110. STOW, p. 229.

¹ KNIGHTON, 2552.

but the resolution was much more easily made than executed. Mortimer took every precaution to provide for his own safety. At a great meeting of the nobles appointed to be held at Nottingham for the consideration of public business,¹ he appeared there with so strong a guard that it was not judged safe to risk an attack upon him; and as the queen mother had the audacity to make him lodge with her in the castle,—a privilege not allowed to her son, nor any of the royal family—and, as security against surprise, had the keys brought to her every night, it seemed hopeless to expect to come upon him unprepared. Nevertheless such was the intense hatred he excited amongst all except his own partisans, and the determination of the king to bring him to punishment and put an end to the shameful conduct of his mother, that Edward gave directions to Lord Montacute² to procure the assistance of persons on whom he could rely, and seize the traitor wherever he might be found. This nobleman succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of Sir William Etaud, the constable of the castle,³ who promised to point out a subterranean passage unknown to any one but himself, which led into the keep or tower of that building, though indisposition would prevent his giving more active assistance. On the 19th of October, king Edward, associating with him the vice-constable of the castle, Sir Edward Bohun, with his brothers, Sir John and Sir William (sons of John, earl of Hereford and Essex, high constable of England), William, lord Clinton, John, lord Molines, Sir Robert Gifford, Sir John Nevil, and lord Montacute, passed through the secret passage by torch-light, and came suddenly and unexpectedly upon Mortimer and his adherents. The latter attempting resistance, a skirmish ensued, in which Sir Hugh Turplington and Sir John Monmouth, two of his crea-

¹ ROT. CLAUS. 4 EDW. III. m. 23, Dors.

² Mortimer appears to have obtained intelligence of the confederation against him, and with some of his chief associates was plotting measures for the destruction of all concerned in it, when the king and his friends came so suddenly upon them. — ADAM DE MURIMUTH, *Hist. Reg. Edwardi I. et II.*

³ KNIGHTON, 2556.

tures, were slain, and Sir John Nevil, of the king's party, badly wounded. Mortimer was taken in an apartment adjoining the queen's bed-chamber, whence Isabella having heard the disturbance and learned the cause, rushed into the room in her night-dress, and addressing herself to her son, exclaimed in the most passionate tones, "*Bel fitz ! Bel fitz ! Ayes pitie du gentile Mortimer.*"¹ But the king was deaf to her supplications ; her paramour was hurried away to a place of security ; the keys of the castle taken from her possession, so that no one should escape, and the next morning he was, with his two sons and his principal adherents, sent to the Tower. Nothing could exceed the gratification with which the news of this enterprise was received throughout the kingdom. The commons rejoiced at the downfall of one whose pride they had been obliged to feed, quite as much as the lords, who had so long been obliged to endure his insolence. Amongst the latter, the earl of Lancaster, whom Mortimer had so often made to feel his power, when he heard of his imprisonment, threw up his cap and shouted for joy.²

A long list of offences was speedily prepared,³ and he was condemned, without being allowed to make a defence, after the examples he had himself set in the cases of the de Spencers and the earl of Kent ; and

¹ "Fair son ! fair son ! have pity on the gallant Mortimer." Stow, p. 229. The MS. *Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 22, makes the queen mother address her entreaties to the confederates generally, and states the king to have been in another part of the castle when Mortimer was seized. Stow says, "They therefore being armed with naked swords in their hands went forwards, leaving the king also armed, without the door of the chamber, least that the queen should espy him." He goes on to state that they found Mortimer in the queen's bed-chamber, and dragged him thence into the hall, where the queen speedily followed.

² BARNES, p. 49.

³ In the king's writ of summons (ROT. CLAUS. 4 EDW. III. m. 19, Dors.) for a parliament to sit in judgment on the earl of March, he states that hitherto the business of government had been taken out of his hands and managed to his disgrace and the impoverishing of his people, and he shortens the usual time of summons, from his earnest desire to lose no time in making reforms which should be to the honour of God, the peace of holy church, and to the tranquillity of his people. The articles of impeachment are preserved in KNIGHTON, 2556.

the earl marshal, with the assistance of the constable of the Tower, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, were commanded to order him for immediate execution, which took place on the 26th of November, upon the common gallows at Tyburn, where he hung for two nights and two days, to the infinite satisfaction of all classes of the community; his body then being granted, by the king's favour, to the grey friars in London, who buried him in their church¹ (Christ-church). The trial of this great offender was followed by that of his principal associates—those being concerned in the murder of Edward of Cærnarvon and the destruction of the earl of Kent, being especially the objects of punishment. Such as were in custody were executed, and prices were set upon the heads of all who had escaped. Nor was it allowed that those who had suffered in any way from the vengeance of Mortimer, or those who had assisted the king in bringing him to justice, should be neglected. The former were restored to their lands and property, and the latter were amply rewarded out of the traitor's forfeited estates. There was one criminal on whom justice had not yet been done. This was the worthless Isabella. Edward thought she had still sufficient claims upon him to screen her from the penalty of her crimes, but he had too strong a sense of her infamy to suffer her to retain the greatness she had usurped. She was banished from court and confined to her mansion at Risings, near London; but every arrangement was made that she should be surrounded with the comforts and as much of the state to which she had been used, as was considered necessary.²

¹ The corpse was afterwards transferred to Wigmore. Some idea of this man's rapacity may be obtained from a passage in BARNES' *Life of Edward the Third*, p. 51.—His personal property was also of immense value, but "both land and gear" were forfeited to the use of the king, who, however, gave orders to respect the wardrobe of the widow and whatever belonged to her children and servants.

² These transactions respecting Isabella and Mortimer took up nearly the whole of the attention of the parliament till near Christmas of this year, 1330.—ROT. PARL. 4 EDW. III. n. 1-16.

CHAPTER III.

Desire of the people of England for War with Scotland—State of the Country at the Death of Robert the Bruce—Edward Baliol's Pretensions to the Scottish Throne—Obtains Assistance from England, and invades Scotland—Edward of Windsor maintains the Truce—Baliol's Successes—He is crowned at Scone—Bands of Outlaws in England—Edward pays a short Visit to France—Behaviour of Philip de Valois on the occasion—Baliol driven out of Scotland—Edward raises an Army—Marches against Berwick—Penetrates into Scotland—Sir Alexander Seton and his Son—A Duel—Defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill—Berwick taken—Edward sets out on a Pilgrimage—Baliol, as King of Scotland, acknowledges the King of England as his sovereign lord in the presence of the Scottish Parliament—Baliol performs public Homage to Edward for the Throne of Scotland—Makes extravagant grants to Edward—Is again driven out of his Dominions—Edward makes another successful Invasion—Grants the Scots a Truce—Renews the War—Victory obtained by John of Eltham over the Earl of Murray—Treaty of Peace between certain partisans of David the Bruce and the King of England—Proposed arrangement of the quarrel of David the Bruce and Edward Baliol—
• Charter in which David acknowledges Homage to the King of England—His adherents receive assistance from the King of France, and obtain some advantages over Baliol—The Earl of Athol killed at the Battle of Kilblene—Edward goes to the assistance of Baliol—Marches uninterrupted with his army through that part of Scotland that holds out for David the Bruce—Returns to England to prepare for War with France.

THE unsatisfactory character of his first campaign in Scotland and the disgraceful treaty which had followed had caused very great dissatisfaction both to king Edward and the most influential of his barons; the common people were also much incensed at the degrading nature of the concessions their government had granted, and to add to the ill feeling thus engendered many of the outrages committed by the Scots on such Englishmen as had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were of much too recent occurrence to have been forgotten or forgiven. To the majority of the nation a war with Scotland was exceedingly agree-

able. Circumstances had lately taken place in Scotland which held out an assurance to her enemies that she could be attacked with advantage. Robert de Bruce had died on the 7th of June, 1329, a victim to leprosy; Douglas had found a glorious death when fighting against the Moors, whilst on his voyage to Jerusalem, where he was proceeding with the heart of the Bruce, to find for it an honourable shrine in the holy city. Randolph had been appointed regent during the minority of the young king David, the son of Robert de Bruce; but though he was a good commander and an experienced soldier, there was so decided an absence of unanimity amongst the principal leaders over whom he was called to govern, that it was not expected by the English he would be able to make himself very formidable to them.

There were many persons in England, who by marriage into Scottish families, succeeded to lands in Scotland, their claim to which had been allowed by the Bruce at the treaty made at Northampton, and the Scottish king guaranteed that they should receive their Scottish inheritances,¹ but this, he afterwards, in a manner that does not do him any credit, refused; his injustice created great discontent, and no small share of indignation amongst the claimants—they, however, were not at this time in a condition to obtain better treatment. Soon after the death of the Bruce, the disunited state of Scotland appeared to open to them a road to justice, to procure which they entered into an armed confederacy. In this they were countenanced by Edward Baliol—the son of the Baliol, for whose elevation to the Scottish throne Edward I. had taken such active measures—and they agreed to assist him in obtaining the crown his father had worn with so little profit, on the condition that he should facilitate their recovery of the lands to which they had so just a title. Baliol, on his arrival in England from France, where his father had died in obscurity, found Edward of Windsor indisposed to break

¹ SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Tales of a Grandfather*, Prose Works, vol. i. p. 198.

the treaty his mother had entered into with Scotland, ill as he relished the conditions. The king of England afforded him no assistance, but there is no doubt his sentiments were in his favour.¹ His most powerful barons, however, did not consider themselves bound to follow his pacific conduct, and several readily promised the royal adventurer their most active support.²

With their assistance he was crowned king of Scotland, at Scone, on the 27th of September, 1331,³ before an assemblage of the principal nobility of the country.

Edward the Third was about the same time engaged in waging war on a small scale in the heart of his own kingdom, for having been made aware of several outrages committed by bands of outlaws, he found it necessary to call out the best men of the counties in which they assembled, to march into their haunts. Spiritual as well as temporal arms were put in force against them, and such as were secured shortly after received the reward of their crimes. In the same year, to quiet Philip de Valois, whose hostility he

¹ He was, however, so scrupulous a preserver of the peace, that very much to his honour as Barnes states, he seized upon the lands of the Viscount Beaumont, one of Baliol's supporters, for joining the invading army without his permission. — *Dugdale*, vol. ii. p. 51. *Rot. Claus.* 4 Edw. III. m. 12.

² Edward issued two proclamations, one dated Windsor, February 16, 1331, and the other Wigmore, August of 1332. — *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 529. Notwithstanding the tenor of these documents, which express his desire to maintain peace between the two countries, it is evident he took a lively interest in Baliol's adventure, if he did not originate it, for the safe conduct which was granted to Baliol, dated Woodstock, July 20th, 1330, and repeated from Nottingham in the following October, makes that a reasonable inference. Edward had at this period a difficult part to play; the discontent with which the last treaty with the Scots was regarded in England made the people urgent for war, at the same time his position with France was very critical, and a rupture with both countries it was his policy to prevent.

³ The successes of "Baliol the Conqueror," as he was thenceforth styled, are amongst the most extraordinary upon record, for with the handful of Englishmen who had left Ravenspur with him, he fought his way through several armies consisting of from 10 to 40,000 men. As the brilliant advantages he had obtained became known in England, many of the nobles hurried to his assistance. His progress is described by Barnes, and many interesting details of it may be gathered from Robert of Avesbury, Hemingford, Knighton, and Walsingham. "Within the space of three weeks from his landing, Edward Baliol saw himself in quiet possession of Scotland." — *Hailes*, vol. ii. p. 190.

was not prepared to contend against at present, he was prevailed upon to go over to France.¹ Philip had commenced warlike proceedings in Guienne, a portion of Edward's French dominions, and seemed inclined to force him into several humiliating concessions, which made the latter anxious, in the present state of his affairs, to come to such an arrangement, whilst his attention was likely to be engaged elsewhere, as should prevent Philip giving him any annoyance. Edward left Dover on the 4th of April, and an agreement was entered into between the two sovereigns on the 10th of April, 1331,² in which, among other things, Philip de Valois bound himself to give 30,000 livres for the damage he had lately caused to be done in Xainctes and Bourq. Philip on this occasion appears to have acted with great liberality, possibly, some writers imagine, gratified by the confidence the young king of England appeared to have reposed in him by entering his kingdom with a retinue of only fifteen persons; but Edward would not have placed himself in the power of his rival, unless he had had ample assurance that he intended honourable treatment. During the fortnight they enjoyed each other's society both kings behaved with the greatest apparent cordiality; nevertheless, both were secretly engaged in advancing their own objects at the expense of the other.³

When the king of England returned to his own country he seems to have been entertaining some

¹ Some writers appear disposed to regard this visit of Edward of Windsor to Philip as a hasty experiment on the generosity of the French king, and among them Mr. James (*Hist. of Edward the Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 40), in expressing himself of that opinion, states it to be "one of those steps of generous vigour which have seldom been without effect;" but it was by no means so unpremeditated as they imagine — parliament having considered its propriety, and the invitation from Philip having been of some standing.

² RYMER, vol. iv. p. 483. BARNES, p. 44, gives the date 4th of July.

³ Philip entertained an inclination to undertake a crusade, and was very desirous that Edward should accompany him, for to leave so active a rival behind was running too great a hazard. Edward, however, thought he had wars enough in perspective, and delayed giving a decisive answer. The subject was brought before parliament, who wisely decided that their king was too young to embark in such an adventure. Nevertheless Edward for some time afterwards appeared willing to consider it.

grand enterprise for establishing his authority in Ireland, for an army was raised, and every arrangement made for his voyage to the sister kingdom at the head of a formidable and well-equipped force. But in the midst of these preparations came news from Scotland which caused such a stir in the country, that at a parliament, held on the 9th of September, a strong remonstrance against his venturing out of the kingdom when a fierce war was carried on so close to his own dominions was presented to him, and an opinion forcibly expressed that he should put himself at the head of all his available forces, and march towards the north to watch the motions of the Scots, who, it was rumoured, were preparing to cross the border. To defray the expenses of this expedition they then made ample provision, and Edward made arrangements for concentrating his forces at York. Here a new parliament¹ was summoned on the 2d of December, and the chief subject of debate was, the opportunity which would be presented, by the termination of the truce between the two kingdoms, for attacking Scotland. The question to be considered was, whether the king should make war in his own name, claiming the kingdom as his own right, as succeeding to the rights of his grandfather Edward the First; or should support Baliol, and be content with exacting the homage and services his ancestors had enjoyed. This debate, however, was obliged to be adjourned, the clerical part of the assembly being absent, in consequence of a dispute about precedence between the archbishops of York and Canterbury.² It is stated on the authority of one of our old chronicles,³ that during the sitting of parliament an embassy ar-

¹ Rot. CLAUS. 6 EDW. III. m. 4, Dors.

² His grace of Canterbury took offence because his grace of York, being in his own province, insisted on having his cross borne before him in advance of all other prelates whatever, and in consequence, with all his suffragans except the bishop of Lincoln, would not attend the parliament. HENRY (*Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 195), alluding to the debate mentioned in the text, erroneously says the parliament, for reasons which are not certainly known, did not think fit to give any advice on that important question.

³ *Chronicle of Lanercost.*

rived from his brother-in-law David the Bruce, imploring his assistance in regaining the kingdom he had so quickly lost, but Edward's council being of opinion that it would be unreasonable to expect him to act against his own subjects, who had been deprived of valuable estates in Scotland in consequence of their loyalty to their sovereign, the ambassadors left England without succeeding in their object.¹ Edward returned to the south to keep his Christmas, but he failed not in making the necessary arrangements for obtaining early intelligence of any important movement in Scotland.

In the meantime Baliol's position appeared daily growing more secure, and many of the most powerful nobles, among whom was Alexander Bruce, lord of Carrick and Galloway, came and submitted themselves to the conqueror. In this favourable state of things he imprudently entered into a truce with the lords who still held out for David the Bruce, and agreed that a great council, composed of the chiefs of both parties, should meet at Arran, near the English border, for the purpose of adjusting their differences and creating a firm union.² Baliol was brave, and not without talent and energy, but he was exceedingly deficient in prudence. Situated as he was, the remembrance of his father's treatment might have convinced him he could not have been too cautious in his proceedings; but, instead of keeping a strong available force close at hand, he dismissed nearly the whole of his military strength into winter quarters. The commanders who adhered to David the Bruce no sooner heard of

¹ TYRRELL, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 375.

² Baliol did not forget the services he had received from England, nor fail to perform what might secure him further assistance from the same quarter, should it be required; for it appears, by the *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 536, that, in November 23, he executed letters patent, at Roxburgh, acknowledging the subjection of the crown of Scotland to the crown of England, and restoring Berwick to the English rule, and expressed a desire to marry the king of England's sister, "Joan Make-peace" (so nicknamed by the Scots, for having been instrumental, by her marriage, in creating the peace between the two countries), provided her union with David the Bruce could be dissolved. But Edward was not any nearer the possessor of Berwick by this grant than he was before.

this rash proceeding than they made arrangements to take advantage of it, and collecting a force of 1000 select horse, suddenly fell upon the town in which Baliol resided, cut to pieces the few men-at-arms who opposed them, and would undoubtedly have taken him captive had he not made an early escape, and sought refuge in England.¹ Encouraged by their success, the Scots began to make their usual plundering incursions beyond the border, where they did all the mischief in their power.²

Before Edward committed himself in Baliol's cause, as soon as the truce between the two countries had expired, he sent ambassadors to David the Bruce, to demand the restitution of Berwick, claiming it as his right by inheritance, it having been enjoyed by his father and grandfather, and requiring him to come and do homage for his kingdom of Scotland; to which the latter, or, more properly speaking, his council, replied, that king Robert had won Berwick by the sword, and his son determined to maintain his conquests; and denied that the crown of Scotland was ever held by homage or any other service; then followed a protestation of David's peaceful intentions, and an appeal to Edward, for the sake of his sister, who was the wife of his bosom, not to disturb the harmony that ought to exist between the two countries.³ Edward became aware that Philip de Valois was holding secret communication with Scotland, and, to keep him from affording David his countenance and assistance, he held out a prospect of joining the French king in the crusade he was so desirous of commencing; he also amused the regent of Scotland with various negotiations, all the time hastening his preparations against the Scots. About this time he received a letter from the fugitive Baliol, stating how, by the treachery of his enemies, he had been obliged to fly his kingdom, and praying, for the love of Almighty

¹ WALSINGHAM, p. 132. KNIGHTON, 2561. ROT. PAT. 6 EDW. III. p. 3, m. 3.

² KNIGHTON, 2563. WALSINGHAM, *Hist* p. 114.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxvi.

God, that he would afford him assistance to regain his crown, for which he offered to do him homage.¹ Edward promised him support, and allowed him to raise recruits among his friends in England, and used every means at his disposal to augment his own forces. His first object was the reduction of Berwick, against which he sent a detachment under the command of Henry, earl of Lancaster—with whom was Baliol—while the rest of the army were to rendezvous at Newcastle on Trinity Sunday.²

Finding himself at the head of a powerful army, Edward commenced the campaign by laying siege to Berwick by sea and land; but, leaving the detachment Baliol had accompanied, that had already obtained some successes, as a sufficient investing force, he marched at the head of his army into the heart of Scotland, taking the castle of Edinburgh; thence, passing the Frith at Queensferry, he proceeded to Dunfermline, favourably distinguishing himself in the assault on that town by giving orders to preserve its ancient abbey. From this point he overran the country as far as Dundee, on the one side, and within five miles of Glasgow on the other. He met with trifling resistance. The Scottish nobles had shut up their young king in the impregnable castle of Dumbarton, and what forces they had they wisely kept as securely as possible out of the line of march of the English army. As he was returning, the king of England took the castle of Blackness, in which, as in other successes of the same nature, he left a garrison. He had scarcely taken up his old position before Berwick when he received an unexpected reinforcement, which was a small

¹ MS. *Vet. Ang. in Bib. Corp. Christ. Coll. Cantab.* c. 223.

² ROT. CLAUS. 7 EDW. III. n. 19, Dors. 11. FROISSART, chap. xxvi. Lord Hailes calls in question this account of Edward's proceedings, asserting that "an invasion of Scotland at that time could have served no purpose of conquest, and by dividing the army might have had fatal consequences." But this is not easily perceived; on the contrary, the king of England's remaining before so strong a place as Berwick in inactivity, whilst he allowed his enemies sufficient time to concentrate their forces, would have been much the most hazardous.

force from Ireland, under the command of lord D'Arcy.¹

Baliol had greatly injured his cause in Scotland by his alliance with the English monarch, and advantage was taken of a connexion so offensive to his countrymen to excite a strong feeling of indignation against him. Whilst Edward pressed the siege of Berwick,² the regent made every exertion to raise a sufficient army to act offensively, nor did the garrison suffer their besiegers to approach their works without frequent efforts at annoyance. They made an unsuccessful attempt to fire the English shipping; they were not more fortunate in the sallies they made, for they were invariably beaten back with great loss; and a fire breaking out in the town, the governor, Sir Alexander Seton, begged a truce, promising to surrender the town if he did not receive succour when the inhabitants had succeeded in putting an end to the conflagration. Edward granted the request; nevertheless, when the fire was extinguished Seton shewed no disposition to fulfil his compact. Edward, however, pressed the siege so vigorously, that, notwithstanding the extraordinary strength of the place and the number of its defenders, the governor found he must submit himself, if assistance did not shortly arrive. He, therefore, sent his eldest son to king Edward as a hostage, when the king of England granted him a truce, at the termination of which the town was to be given up, if not relieved. Seton immediately started off a messenger to the regent, to urge him most strongly to advance without delay against the English army, which, he stated, might now be attacked with great advantage, as it was much weakened by detachments having been drafted from it to do duty as garrisons,³ and, whilst engaged in front, could be attacked in the rear by the garrison and inhabitants of Berwick, with the prospect

¹ He was on his way from Ireland.—HOLINSHED, *Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 70.

² An incident, highly characteristic of the times, which occurred at this period, has been related by BARNES—*Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 75.

³ *MS. Vet. Ang. in Bib. Corp. Christ. Coll. Cantab. c. 223.*

of an easy victory. Archibald Douglas was in England, where he had led a powerful army, in expectation of drawing Edward from his position ; but the latter was too good a general to leave a prize which he knew to be almost within his grasp, and allowed Douglas to plunder and burn unchecked till he advanced to Bamborough castle, in Northumberland, where queen Philippa was then residing. On the summons of Sir Alexander Seton,¹ he abandoned the siege of that fortress, and with all his forces, which greatly outnumbered those of king Edward, marched towards Berwick.

¹ HECTOR BOECE and BUCHANAN have, amongst the multitude of exaggerations and misstatements which crowd their pages, asserted, that Edward caused two of the sons of the governor of Berwick to be hanged before his eyes, because he would not surrender the town ; which he was prevented from doing by his wife, who, when he hesitated, made a set speech to him, of the most pedantic character, that gave him courage to fulfil his duty. Nearly the whole of the English chroniclers omit all allusion to this assumed barbarity,—there is not a word about it in Froissart ; and although something of the kind may be found in the Latin chronicle of the monastery of Lanercost, and in the *Scots Chronicon*—a Norman-French MS. in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge—they put the affair in a very different light. The occurrence, as there described, consists in king Edward, (after Seton had, at the expiration of the truce, refused to surrender Berwick, in accordance with the arrangement for the due performance of which he had given his son as a hostage) having put up a gallows within sight of the walls, and threatened Seton that, unless he fulfilled his engagement, his son should be hanged. The governor still held out, and by the advice of Edward's council the life of the hostage was forfeited. This is an extreme measure ; but the wars of the middle ages furnish many examples of such vindictive justice, and if the king of England added another to that list, he was doing nothing which the laws of war did not justify. But the story, in any form, is doubtful ; for after Berwick was taken, and Seton at liberty to do as he pleased, he was among the first to perform homage to king Edward, and enrol himself among his partisans, which he was not likely to have done had the king behaved towards his son with the cruelty attributed to him. In an account of this transaction in a recent publication (*Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. ii. p. 307). Edward is represented with his temper “certainly aggravated into ferociousness,” and not only are two victims insisted on, but it is insinuated that they were “prisoners put to death because their father would not surrender his trust.” The writer goes on to state, that “the king knew that the Douglas was no trifier in any work he took in hand ;” forgetting that the leader of the Scottish host was not THE Douglas—who was killed some years before—but a man of very inferior abilities, of whose power to give Edward uneasiness Hallidon Hill affords sufficient testimony. Sir Walter Scott evidently placed no credit in this story of the Setons, for, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, he does not take any notice of it.

The Scottish host arrived within sight of the English at "even song," on the 18th of July, 1333, and advanced in four battalions, one headed by lord John Murray; the second, by lord Robert Steward; the third, by Hugh, earl of Ross; and the fourth, by Archibald Douglas. The army they commanded was one of the most numerous the English had ever been opposed to; including the force in Berwick, the Scots, it is stated, had 65 nobles, 140 knights bachelors, 3650 men-at-arms, and 64,200 common soldiers, making a total of 68,055 fighting men. King Edward, though he had not any thing like the same number, left his entrenchments as soon as the enemy approached, and advanced to give him battle. He had with him John of Eltham, his brother; Thomas of Brotherton, his uncle; and many of the most distinguished of his nobles and knights; there were but few of them who had not lost a relative in the disastrous battle of Bannockburn, or, either in themselves or by their connexions, had not received some injury from the Scots, whom they approached with the determination of exacting a terrible reckoning for all such obligations.

Whilst the armies were within a short distance of each other, and preparing to engage, a man of gigantic stature and herculean strength advanced from the ranks of the Scottish army, and, by the proclamation of a herald, offered to fight any man amongst the English, in deadly combat. This individual was well known for his great strength and prowess by the name of Turnbull, which, it is said, he acquired in consequence of his having saved Robert the Bruce, when engaged in hunting, from the attack of a wild bull, by taking him by the horns, throwing him over, and holding him down, till the hunters came up and despatched him. Nevertheless, strong as he was, a young knight of Norfolk, called Sir Robert Benhall, was anxious to give him battle, and having obtained the consent of king Edward, left his associates with his trusty sword in his hand. Before he reached his antagonist, he was furiously attacked by a savage mastiff, of great size, that belonged to Turnbull, but a well-

directed blow of his weapon, as the beast attempted to spring upon him, stretched his carcass at his feet. The Scottish champion fared no better than his dog; for, after putting forth his immense power with no other result than to exhaust himself, the young Englishman, who had cautiously kept on his defence, attacked him so briskly that he in a short time cut off one of his arms, and a little time after sent his head flying from his shoulders, to the infinite satisfaction of the English camp, who honoured their champion's courage with the loudest acclamations. Turnbull's countrymen, however, were so incensed that several mounted soldiers spurred forward to cut off Sir Robert Benhall from his friends; and they would, no doubt, have hacked him to pieces had not king Edward sent some men-at-arms to his assistance, and he succeeded in fighting his way back.¹

The English army had now formed themselves into four battalions, and took up an excellent position on Hallidon Hill, with a marsh lying between them and the enemy. Both Edward and Baliol dismounted, and placed themselves in the most conspicuous situations. To each battalion were attached two wings of archers. The enemy approached with trumpets sounding and banners flying, and as if in the best disposition for driving the English into the Tweed. Edward having sufficiently regarded the formidable masses that were opposed to him, made his arrangements with that profound military skill which afterwards obtained for him the reputation of the first commander in Europe. The English archers began the contest, and speedily made fearful havoc among the crowded Scots,² who in vain attempted to extricate themselves from the marsh. The arrowy shower came in such a resistless flight that, according to an ancient manuscript, the men were slain by thousands.³ Their comrades be-

¹ Stow, p. 231, gives a brief but graphic account of this duel, which BARNES, p. 77, spins out most elaborately.

² KNIGHTON, 2563.

³ Quoted by Mr. TYTLER (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 338), who accounts for the heavy loss his countrymen sustained, by stating that,

came confused, and lost their proper places. By great exertions some strong parties forced their way to the English, who fell upon them, weary as they were with their labours, with a fierceness that so increased their confusion that the battle soon became a slaughter. An old chronicler, in describing this contest, states, that the Scottish army, against that of England, were as twenty sheep against five wolves.¹ Here and there there was an attempt to make a stout fight of it; but Douglas was pierced through with a spear, their best leaders were struck down, and their bravest men fell in heaps.² In some places an effort was made to draw off the men, but as a powerful body were leaving the field they were intercepted by a detachment of the English, that charged, broke, and dispersed them, after killing a great number.³ Though all was now confusion and disorder, the conflict raged with increased fury. The English men-at-arms mounted their horses, and the Scots would have been very glad to have done the same, but their grooms and pages had removed them. Several times they were rallied, and with the well-known courage of their race strove to retrieve their losses, but broke again almost as soon as charged; and wherever they presented a compact mass the murderous arrows of the archers made awful gaps. The majority began to seek safety in flight; but on one side

“ from the nature of the ground, it was impossible to come to close fighting, and having no archers, they were slaughtered without resistance; the English remaining in the meantime uninjured, with their trumpets sounding amid the groans of their dying enemies, while their king was fighting on foot in the front of the battle. Upon this dreadful carnage many of the Scots began to fly, but the better part of the army, led on by the nobility, at last extricated themselves from the marsh, and pressing up the hill, attacked the enemy with great fury. It was difficult, however, for men, breathless by climbing the acclivity, and dispirited by the loss sustained in the marsh, to contend against fresh troops, admirably posted and under excellent discipline; so that, although the Scots for a little time fiercely sustained the battle, their efforts being unconnected, the day, in spite of all their exertions, ultimately went against them.”

¹ *MS. Vet. Ang. in Bib. Corp. Christ. Coll. Cantab. c. 224.*

² *HOLINSHED, Eng. Chron. p. 896.*

³ *BARNES, p. 79.* It is rather singular that Froissart, who assumes to be so well informed respecting the king of England's campaigns in Scotland, should have made no allusion to this battle, one of the most decisive of Edward the Third's many brilliant successes.

the lord d'Arcy, with his well-disciplined troops, and on the other king Edward, with a select body of mounted archers and men-at-arms, made tremendous havoc among them. The bravest of the Scots held out in small companies, but it was with the courage of despair; and as their banners disappeared, one after another, the flight became general, but it was no less general a slaughter. The remains of the Scottish army dispersed in different directions, pursued for five miles by their enemies, till night coming on, and weary with the work of death, the latter returned to the field.

Such was the famous battle of Hallidon Hill, one of the most disastrous to Scotland of all the dreadful reverses she had sustained at the hands of her foes. The number of slain was immense, and the majority of these were the noblest and bravest in the land. There exists a considerable discrepancy between the estimates of the loss sustained by the Scottish army in this battle, as furnished by the English and Scottish chroniclers: the former asserting that it amounted to eight earls, ninety knights and bannerets, 400 esquires, and from 32,000 to 35,000 of less distinguished combatants;¹ the latter acknowledging only a total loss of from 10,000 to 14,000 men.² The truth will most probably be found about half-way between the two estimates. Of the English so few were slain that it is scarcely possible to believe that their enemies contested the field at all.³

Edward was not slow in availing himself of the fruits of this great victory. Having bestowed rewards on the most gallant of his followers, he soon took possession of Berwick, which he entered with a vast display of military splendour; there he published a thanksgiving

¹ KNIGHTON, 2563. WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 112, HOLINSHED, *Eng. Chron.* p. 896. RYMER, vol. iv. p. 568.

² HECTOR BOETHIUS allows the greater number, BUCHANAN the smaller number.

³ Seven is the amount of killed given by some of the English historians, and it is stated that these were all of the least valued portion of their army—the footmen: other authorities allow that there fell on their side one knight, one esquire, and fourteen footmen.—BARNES *Hist. of Edw. III.*, p. 80.

for the signal success which had crowned his arms.¹ Had he possessed the cruel disposition sometime attributed to him, he would have severely punished the garrison for their obstinate defence; instead of which he displayed the forbearance that distinguished him on all similar occasions. He allowed a truce of forty days, that all who chose might dispose of their property; those who desired to remain in the town were at perfect liberty to do so, retaining every thing they possessed on taking an oath of fealty to the conqueror. By this dreadful blow so completely was Scotland at his feet that very few evaded acknowledging their allegiance to the king of England. The great men readily took the required oath;² and by general consent Berwick again became a portion of the English dominion, to which it has ever since belonged. To shew his gratitude for the brilliant success he had obtained, in the spirit of the times he rebuilt in the neighbourhood a church and convent that had been destroyed during the battle, and caused an altar to be therein erected to the honour of the virgin martyr, St. Margaret—the victory having been gained on St. Margaret's day—and granted to the nuns and their successors for ever the sum of 20*l.* per annum out of the revenues of the town and county of Berwick, until lands of that value could be settled upon them, to the end that annually on the eve and day of St. Margaret for ever they should commemorate the goodness of God for his eminent success in that battle.³

Edward remained in Berwick about twelve days, receiving the homage of the Scottish knights and nobles who held lands in the neighbourhood, and making arrangements for the town being properly governed in his name. With this view he appointed lord Henry Percy, governor of the castle, having for his lieutenant, Sir Thomas Grey, with whom earl Patrick of Dunbar, one of his new subjects, was joined as one of the wardens of all the county on this side the Scottish sea,

¹ RYMERI *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 571.

² Sir Alexander Seton was very early in swearing allegiance.

³ BARNES' *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 80.

making the earl, however, rebuild his castle of Dunbar at his own expense, which he had lately caused to be dismantled, and allow an English garrison to be placed therein as a sort of penance for his political offences.¹ Having left with Baliol, to support his authority as the acknowledged sovereign of Scotland, the lord Richard Talbot and other distinguished commanders, with a powerful force, he proceeded to England, where, still further to express his piety and gratitude, he went, with a few attendants, on a pilgrimage to all the holiest places in his kingdom; and these were the shrines of St. Cuthbert at Durham, St. Edward at Westminster, St. Erkenwold at St. Paul's in London, St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, and St. George at Windsor.² Such visits were regarded as pious exercises, entitling the individual who paid them to the favorable consideration of the devout. They were exceedingly popular with all classes, and the priests derived a considerable revenue from the offerings made by the pilgrims at their favourite shrines, to which all were expected to contribute according to their means. The offerings of princes and the most powerful nobles usually displayed their munificence as prominently as their piety.

The taste of war, which the young king of England had lately enjoyed, afforded just sufficient gratification to a monarch of his martial disposition to make him desirous of a more ample repast. The satisfaction he felt in the results of his Scottish campaign was shared by his people, with whom his success raised him to a degree of popularity, which from this time continued so to increase, that he was allowed to strain his prerogative.

¹ HECTOR BOETH, lxx. fol. 315, lin. 37. This castle was built only to be a thorn in the way of the English; for, having been made almost impregnable, Dunbar placed in it a strong garrison, and held it for David the Bruce.

² WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 114. Besides the places mentioned in the text, there were very many others; in fact, these sanctuaries became so numerous, and the custom of going on pilgrimages such an abuse, that they did not escape the keen eyes of the contemporary satirists. A few years later the muse of Chaucer gave to the world a picture of this feature in the national manners, which, in its graphic outline and glowing colours, its touching poetry and exquisite humour, continues as vividly as on its first production to excite the admiration of all who refer to it.

gative in a manner that even his despotic grandfather would have hesitated to attempt. Accompanied by the good wishes of his admiring subjects, when he had concluded his round of devotions he proceeded to York, where he spent his Christmas; and from the unanimity of feeling which prevailed in that ancient city, there can be no doubt it was a very joyous one. After these pleasures he again applied himself to the serious purposes which occupied so large a share of his attention, and placing himself at the head of a formidable army, advanced on the Scottish frontier and commenced another campaign by laying siege to the castle of Kilbridge, which he presently took by assault. Thence he continued his march to Edinburgh, where he found Baliol, who, since Edward had parted from him at Berwick, had proceeded in his career with such success, that he had established his authority in every part of Scotland, excepting a remote portion, where a small but determined band of the followers of David the Bruce had taken refuge.

A grand assembly of the principal nobles, prelates, knights, and burgesses of Scotland, had been summoned to meet in Edinburgh about the commencement of February; and already so reconciled the nation appeared to the government of Baliol that very few hesitated to respect the writ. But they not only formed an effective parliament, they exhibited a remarkable zeal in favour of their new ruler. This was shewn in affording their assent to a public declaration of homage from the king of Scotland to the king of England. In the record in which this act is described, Baliol granted Berwick to the king of England, and it was duly signed and sealed, and dated Edinburgh the 12th of February.¹

There was no protest or opposition of any kind offered to this declaration by the Scottish parliament, who with the same unanimity acknowledged the claims of the English lords to their possessions in Scotland,

¹ This important charter, bearing the great seal of England, was for many years preserved in a chest inscribed "*Scotia, Tempora Regis Edwardi Tertii*," deposited in the old Chapter House at Westminster.

and repealed all the laws made in the reigns of Robert and David the Bruce. Furthermore, they enacted that all such lands and possessions as either of the said Bruces had given to any person or persons whatsoever, should be now taken and restored to the former possessor and true inheritor.¹ The king of Scotland did not forget the English nobles by whom he had been so powerfully assisted : they obtained many valuable grants.

Edward, after having been very handsomely entertained by his grateful friend, departed from Edinburgh to meet his own parliament, which he had summoned to assemble at York on the 21st of February. Business of much moment to the nation obtained on this occasion the attention of the legislature, which appear to have entered with some spirit into the consideration of existing abuses, proposing several arrangements for the better administration of justice, and desiring a more perfect observance of the great charters which guaranteed the people's liberties and privileges.² Having concluded these matters, the king proceeded at Whitsuntide to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the Scottish monarch, attended by a magnificent retinue, composed of some of the most distinguished of his subjects, paid him a visit. It has already been stated that the king of Scotland made a public acknowledgment at Edinburgh of allegiance to his powerful friend the king of England ; but the act of homage had not yet been performed. Possibly Baliol did not think a display of his submission politic so soon after he had become possessed of the sovereign authority ; but, as it was necessary to Edward to substantiate his claim of feudal superiority, Baliol felt bound in gratitude to do what was required of him at the earliest opportunity ; therefore he hastened to Newcastle with the full intention of shewing that he was not unmindful of the obligations he had incurred.

¹ HOLINSHED, *Eng. Chron.* p. 896.

² Here we find indications of the appointment of justices of the peace, with a certain stipend, arising out of the fees of their office.—SIR ROBT. COTTON, *Abridgment of the Records of Parliament*, p. 15.

On the 19th of the following June,¹ in the church of the Preaching Friars, in the presence of lay and spiritual lords, knights, and other individuals of both nations, Edward Baliol knelt down before the throne of the king of England, by whom he was received as his liege-man, with the customary ceremonies.² But it appears, that he did not think that his taking the oath of fealty, and swearing that he held his crown of the king of England, comprised a sufficient recompense for the important assistance he had received at his hands. He knew that Edward had been put to immense expense in raising the army with which he had made himself master of Scotland, and he was desirous of affording him some compensation. He therefore caused letters patent to be drawn out, making over to him several castles, towns, and other valuable possessions in Scotland.³

There was another provision added to these liberal concessions, by which, whenever the king of England or his heir should be engaged in war at home or abroad, Baliol bound himself and his heirs to assist him with 300 horse and 1000 foot at the expense of Scotland for one year; if their services should be required for a longer period, the king of England was to pay them as he did his own soldiers.⁴ In this transaction there was a degree of liberality likely to prejudice the cause of both monarchs. The Scots, who were intensely jealous of their national importance, and could not patiently endure the subtraction of an acre of barren moor from their wild country, were not likely to put up with the loss of five counties nearest the English border. The homage was equally distasteful to them, and the two kings began to be as much disliked as distrusted.

Edward parted from his friend with every possible

¹ WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 115. ASHMOLE, p. 645.

² BARNES, *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 84.

³ This document is dated at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the 12th of June, the second year of Baliol's reign, and, with several others confirming it, used to be preserved in the chest mentioned in a preceding page.

⁴ FABIAN, p. 202.

expression of good will, and as the latter returned to Scotland, he proceeded to Windsor, whence he issued his commands for the lay and spiritual peers to meet him at Nottingham on the 10th of July, to afford him their advice on the state of his affairs. They presented at this time features of such deep interest, that another parliament was summoned to assemble on the 20th of September,¹ to take them into consideration. The proposition that had so long before been made to Edward to accompany the king of France in a crusade in the Holy Land, and the part Philip was playing in encouraging David the Bruce and his partisans, required the earliest attention.² Edward outwardly manifested a great desire to join the confederacy of princes about to take up the cross, but this seems to have been done only to keep Philip quiet. The debate was interrupted by news from Scotland, by which it appeared that Baliol, acting contrary to the advice which Edward had written to him,³ had given offence to some of his powerful subjects, who had not only joined the party of David the Bruce, but had succeeded in detaching from Baliol his most influential supporters, and by creating as much clamour as possible relating to his unwise concessions, they were speedily in such force that they drove him once more out of his kingdom, and took the lord Talbot prisoner by surprise.⁴

This intelligence gave the debate a very different turn; and after supplies had been voted, the king busied himself in making preparations once more to seat his friend on his unquiet throne. About the

¹ ROT. CLAUS. 8 EDW. III. m. 18, Dors.

² David the Bruce had fled from his kingdom, and, with his young wife, had found refuge in the court of France; the French king, being induced to afford him some assistance, despatched ten large ships to Scotland, but they met with a violent storm at sea, and were forced to run back to the port they had left.—WALSINGHAM.

³ The manner which the king of Scotland succeeded a second time in making enemies, of such amongst his most powerful subjects as a moderate display of prudence might have retained as friends, will be found related in BARNES' *History of Edward III.* p. 86.

⁴ Talbot, foreseeing the result of Baliol's rash proceedings, after warning him of the mischief he was doing, was making the best of his way to England, when he was intercepted by a body of Bruce's adherents, and carried a prisoner to Dumbarton castle.

middle of November, Edward again entered Scotland with a gallant army, and having been joined by Baliol with a considerable force, he marched through the country beyond Caithness, which was farther than Edward the First had penetrated. He met with very little resistance; and arrived, without accident, at Roxburgh, where he kept his Christmas.¹ Shortly afterwards he marched into the forest of Ettrick, but not finding any thing to oppose him that had the most remote resemblance to an army, he returned into England by the way of Newcastle.

Baliol's cause had been ruined by his extravagant concessions; and though he gained some brilliant advantages, and did a great deal of mischief to the property of those who held out against him near the English border, he was fast losing whatever claims to the consideration of his countrymen he may at first have had. But powerful solicitations to Edward were now being made by the pope and the king of France for peace, to which he so far listened that he granted the Scots a truce from Easter of this year to the following midsummer. Nevertheless, he employed that interval in increasing his military resources, and directly the truce expired, once more crossed into Scotland, passing over Solway Frith,² and marched into Annandale. Here he created several knights, and conferred other honorary distinctions; Baliol at the same time entering the country on the other side with a powerful army. The king of England again proceeded unchecked even to the Highlands,—he tactics of the Scots consisting in avoiding all general engagements with the main army, but falling with a superior force upon detachments, by which they sometimes gained an advantage. In one instance, however, it chanced that a body of Scots having defeated a small force of the English, most of whom they took prisoners, were met by another detachment, which as completely mastered them.³

¹ YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ.

² KNIGHTON, 2565.

³ HOLINSHED, p. 898. Edward had not long got upon Scottish ground, when he was agreeably surprised by the appearance of a messenger from

Baliol had obtained considerable success, having taken several towns and castles, among others the strong castle of Cumbermouth, in which he gained two or three important prisoners; but the Scots suffered most from a third army, which was under the command of the king's brother John of Eltham, who, besides doing great mischief in the western districts that held out against Baliol, defeated, with immense loss, a superior force of the enemy, under the command of the earls of Murray and Dunbar, and Sir James Douglas, when Douglas was killed, and Lord Murray taken prisoner.¹ John of Eltham and his victorious troops, loaded with booty, arrived, without further opposition, at St. Johnston, to which Edward had returned from his successful march into the Highlands. Here, again, an unsuccessful attempt at mediation in favour of David the Bruce was made by the king of France; but Edward was too well aware of the advantage of his position to listen to any negotiations on his behalf. Indeed, the Scots found themselves so completely at his mercy, that the most powerful of the chiefs were anxious to come to a settlement of their dispute without further bloodshed. Many volunteers

William, earl of Hainault, with a magnificent present. This was "A very gorgeous and princely helmet, richly beset with precious stones, and adorned with the coronet and other things, in the same manner as the earl himself was used to wear it on festivals, and when he appeared in the greatest splendour. The king was extremely pleased with his present, and immediately rewarded the messenger with 100*l.* sterling. 'Tis likely he wore it long after, for the sake of the donor, for I have seen several pictures that represent him in such an helmet."—BARNES' *History of King Edward the Third*, p. 95.

¹ KNIGHTON, 2567. During this campaign, according to HOLINSHED, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 236, the ranks of the English army boasted of one of those volunteer combatants, of which we have not been without several examples in modern times. She is described as a woman of exact beauty and more than ordinary stature, and is supposed to have disguised herself in armour, and ventured into the perils of war, out of love for a distinguished knight, Sir Robert of Namur, who had drawn his sword in the cause of King Edward. The boldness with which she attacked the enemy prevented any suspicion of her sex arising amongst her associates. She slew a Scottish squire named Richard Shaw in single fight, but pressing too forward, got separated from her company and slain,—when her sex was discovered. BARNES, *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 97, in mentioning this heroine, ungallantly adds, "Her indiscreet obstinacy to the death, when retreating was not inglorious; [yet it] shewed her unwise, and too much a woman."

came and submitted themselves to him, and others sent their humble entreaties for peace and pardon. The overwhelming force which the king of England had at his disposal, and the success which had attended Baliol's enterprises, doubtless, influenced the most obstinate of his enemies, so that a treaty was arranged between them on the one part, and the kings of England and Scotland on the other.¹

It is stated, and on what appears very good authority,² that a condition was added, to the effect that the partisans of the Bruce should recognise Baliol as their sovereign during his life—David and his queen to live honourably during their time in London, and to succeed to the crown on Baliol's death; and that they should oblige him to submit, by personal attendance, to king Edward's arbitration: they yielding their homage to the king of England as their superior lord. This seems the wisest arrangement the Bruce party could adopt, under the unfavourable circumstances in which they found themselves placed. Some negotiations were made to carry out such a settlement; and it is said that a charter exists, in which David the Bruce, with the concurrence of his parliament, agrees to hold the kingdom of Scotland of the king of England as his superior lord.³ But Edward was well aware of the little dependence to be placed on his new friends,⁴ and had recourse to such measures as would strengthen the hold he now possessed in the country. With this object he built several strong castles, and strengthened others: placing there governors on whom he could rely,⁵ and leaving with the king of Scotland a considerable army, and many of his bravest commanders, he returned to England. He had, however, returned but a few months when he received intelligence that the adherents of

¹ "Written at St. John's Towne, in Scotlande, the 18 of August, anno 1335."—STOW, p. 232.

² KNIGHTON, 2568.

³ Dr. BRADY, who produces this document, *Continuation of Complete Hist. of England*, Appendix, 85.

⁴ WALSINGHAM, *Ypodygma Neustriæ*, p. 113.

⁵ HOLINSHED, *Hist. of Scot.* p. 236.

David, encouraged and greatly assisted by the king of France, were again becoming formidable in Scotland. They had taken the field in considerable force, and had attacked by surprise, and gained a decisive victory over an army stated to be nearly double their number.¹

Edward of Windsor was speedily engaged in making active preparations for another campaign, determining to call Philip de Valois to an account, when he had quelled his enemies nearer home. Having appointed Henry Plantagenet, son of the old earl of Lancaster, captain general of his forces in Scotland, he directed Baliol to take the field with him, and many of the bravest of his nobility who were with the army,² and then made a hasty journey to St. Johnston, whence, soon after his arrival, taking the chief command of the army into his own hands, he marched against the enemy. Although, amongst the nobles who maintained the cause of Bruce, there were several brave men, they had the sagacity to keep out of the way of the king of England,³ who poured his well-disciplined hosts through their fastnesses, passing through Athol, as far as Inverness. Returning through Buchan, he took Aberdeen, which he severely punished—some of the inhabitants having treacherously slain one of his knights.⁴ During his progress his troops committed those mischiefs from which men with arms in their hands in an enemy's country seldom refrained in these barbarous days; but a war of this nature was not to Edward's taste, and the king of France having commenced hostilities against him, he was eager to obtain a field for the display of his skill as a commander likely to be

¹ For an interesting account of this engagement, called "The Battle of Kilblene," the reader is referred to the graphic pages of Sir WALTER SCOTT, *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. xiv.

² They proceeded with a force amounting to nearly 20,000 men, and laid siege to the strong castle of Dunbar, which was well defended by the countess, a heroine in especial esteem amongst her countrymen, who bore the name of Black Agnes; but after passing nearly twenty weeks assailing its massive walls—the garrison having been reinforced—they raised the siege to join king Edward.—WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 112.

³ ADAM DE MUREMUTH.

⁴ ASHMOLE, p. 646.—BUCHANAN, p. 296.

more productive of glory than the rugged mountains and dreary moors of Scotland. Therefore, having, by the time he returned to St. Johnston, impressed the malcontents with such a wholesome dread of his name, that the country appeared in a comparative state of quiet, Edward again left Baliol, and hastened to complete the preparations on which he had been so long engaged for deciding his quarrel with Philip de Valois.

CHAPTER IV.

Edward the Third misrepresented by Historians—His claim to the Throne of France fairly stated—The Salic Law—State of Descent as affecting the Crown of France—Manner in which Philip de Valois obtained its possession to the prejudice of the rights of Edward of Windsor—Philip exacts from Edward the performance of Homage for his French Possessions—Wise Policy of the King of England—Robert d'Artois—His Persecution by the King of France—Arrives in England—The Vow of the Heron—Robert d'Artois excites Edward to attempt the Recovery of the Kingdom of France by an Appeal to Arms—Edward makes Preparations for War—His Foreign Alliances—He leads an Armament into Flanders—His Negotiations with the Lords of the Empire—Louis Emperor of Bavaria—Edward is created Vicar-General of the Empire—Assembly of the German Confederates—Their Indecision—Enormous Expense of the King of England—He marches at the head of his Army—Besieges Cambray—Is joined by his Allies—He advances into France and ravages the Country for many miles—Philip de Valois takes the Field at the head of upwards of a Hundred Thousand Men—The Hostile Armies approach each other—Composition of the French Army—The Army of Edward—The French Captains disinclined to hazard a Battle—Knights of the Hare—Retreat of the French Army—Conduct of Philip de Valois Examined—Letter of Edward the Third to his Son.

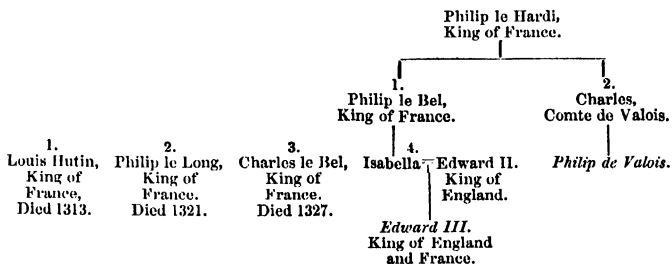
ALMOST all French and several English historians have thought proper to speak of Edward the Third's claim to the throne of France as completely visionary, and in the severest language have denounced him for creating a war on such pretensions; but if this claim be fairly examined upon the footing on which it stood at the time it was urged, a more satisfactory cause, maintained by force of arms, the records of the middle ages cannot produce. From the historical writers of France there must, however, be excepted one,¹ to whom England owes considerable obligations, not only for giving a more comprehensive view of her annals than any of her own historians had attempted,² but for

¹ Paul de Rapin Thoyras, born at Castres in Languedoc, March 28th, 1661, and died at Wezel, in the duchy of Cleves, on the 16th of May, 1725.

² This work, "done into English from the French," by the Rev. N. TINDAL, was in much repute in this country during the greater portion of the eighteenth century. The author had only proceeded in the pub-

affording in a careful analysis of the whole important case, *Edward of Windsor* versus *Philip de Valois*, a knowledge of the nature of their rivalry, which completely exculpates our illustrious monarch from the many heavy accusations which prejudice and ignorance have brought against him.¹ It does not correspond with the design of this publication to follow M. Rapin closely through his learned essay ; but the right Edward assumed to the sovereignty of France took so prominent a place in influencing his actions during the most active part of his brilliant career, that a brief estimate of his pretensions is absolutely necessary to enable the reader to understand his position, and be able to do justice to his character.

At the death of Charles le Bel (the last of the three sons of Philip le Bel), the claimants to the crown of France stood in the following positions :—



From this it is easily seen, that according to the ordinary laws of descent, Edward descending in a direct line from his grandfather, Philip le Bel, has a better claim than Philip de Valois, who was king Philip's nephew, or brother's son. But French authors reply, we have a Salic law which governs the succession despotically. This law, which was created, they

publication as far as the death of Charles the First, when a malignant fever put an end to his valuable labours. His style is dry, and disfigured with serious blemishes ; but much praise is due to him for the research he displayed in the treatment of his subject, which induced other historical scholars to devote more attention to it than it had previously received.

¹ See the Dissertation on the Salic Law introduced by Rapin in his Reign of Edward the Third.

say, to prevent the warlike French nation suffering by having its sceptre wielded by a female hand,¹ shuts out Isabella, and therefore excludes her son; but granting this, though there is no evidence of the general operation of a Salic law in France;² if such a law has been created for the sole purpose of excluding women from the throne, when, by the ordinary law of descent, they would be entitled to occupy it, its operation is not interfered with by allowing Edward's claim; the desired object for which the Salic law should be enforced, being obtained by excluding Isabella in favour of her son, who must undoubtedly be the next in succession. An answer to this argument was furnished by the supporters of the superiority of the claim of Philip de Valois, who affirmed, that Isabella having, by the Salic law, no right, could not transmit any right to another; and, therefore, Edward could not be allowed to have pretensions through a channel in which they never existed. But here the sticklers for the Salic law can bring forward no precedent to support their desire for the expulsion of mother *and* son. Indeed, any thing like a law of this nature is not to be discovered as affecting the royal family of France, from the earliest period of the monarchy to the announcement that was made of its nature and influence when Philip le Long, to secure his usurpation of the throne from its rightful possessor, the infant daughter of his brother, Louis Hutin,³ obtained a decision from a tri-

¹ The people of France have obtained a great reputation for gallantry, but this law evinces any thing rather than the superior devotion to the sex for which they have so long laid claim.

² There is no satisfactory evidence of a law existing in France to exclude females and their descendants from the throne, as a written enactment, or as an inviolable custom. There is a curious work on this law with the following title, "*Oblatio Salis, sive Gallia, lege salis condita, tractatus salis naturam explicans: necnon mysticum ejus sensum, &c. ad originem, institutionem, et legis Salicæ rationes omnes intelligendas plurimum inserviens.*"—Opera W. D'AVISSONI, Scoti, 8vo. Paris, 1641.

³ The widow of Louis Hutin having been left pregnant at his death in 1316, the partisans of Philip le Long lost no time in getting him appointed regent; and he made such good use of the influence such a position in the government gave him, that on the decease of his brother's infant, a prince, who lived but a few days, he was enabled to take

bunal of his own creatures, excluding female claimants.

It was easy for Philip de Valois at the death of the last of the three sons of Philip le Bel, about twelve years afterwards, to follow the example of Philip le Long. Charles le Bel died, leaving his widow in an advanced stage of pregnancy, and Philip de Valois seized upon the regency, his claim to which being disputed by Edward the Third, king of England, Philip found no difficulty in procuring from an assembly of his countrymen convened for the purpose, a decision in his favour. This was the more readily obtained in consequence of his opponent being a minor, not in a position to maintain his rights, and a foreigner, whose pretensions, if allowed, would make France, as was carefully impressed on the minds of Frenchmen, a mere appanage to her rival, England. The people of France were then not less hostilely disposed towards us than they appear now, nor were they in any degree less jealous of the honour and greatness of their country. There is no necessity for calling in question the policy of the French in excluding the monarch of a powerful neighbouring state from their throne: it was undoubtedly the wisest course they could pursue; but this apology for their proceedings against Edward the Third does not excuse the gross injustice of which they have been guilty in constantly misrepresenting the motives and actions of that monarch.

For the proper understanding of the question, it should here be observed, that the Salic law which the one party maintained and the other as stoutly denied, must be allowed, otherwise the claims of Philip and of Edward are equally valueless before those of the daughters of the three last kings of France; but to make his pretensions superior to those of his rival, Philip was bound to prove that the Salic law in excluding women from the monarchy excluded their legitimate male descendants, which he failed in

on himself the royal dignity, to the exclusion of Joanna, his brother's only surviving child.

doing;¹ and Edward, in resting his, upon the high and incontrovertible ground being next of kin to the last monarch, took a much more satisfactory position.

The dispute for the regency was maintained by the representatives of both parties before the assembly,² summoned by Philip de Valois; under these circumstances there is nothing strange in the verdict being in his favour. But that the whole nation was unanimous in this judgment is any thing but clear, as Philip found it necessary to mutilate a burgher of Compeigne, by causing his hands and feet to be cut off because he had maintained the superiority of Edward's title,—a way of dealing with those who questioned his claim much more likely to silence the arguers than the arguments. This decision of the assembly affected the regency only; nevertheless when the accouchement of the widow of Charles le Bel took place, and the result was a girl, without any further inquiry or authority Philip de Valois seized the crown. It was evident, however, that he did not feel himself quite secure in his elevation, by the efforts he speedily made to take advantage of the almost helpless position of his young competitor, to force from him an acknowledgment of his authority as king of France.

It has been already shewn that Edward found it

¹ The most careful research furnished but one instance which can affect the question at issue; and if this has any authority, it completely establishes Edward's claim. It will be found in the annals of the Ostrogoths, amongst whom a Salic law being in force, Amalazonta at the death of her father Theodorick, was pronounced as a woman incapable of being his successor, but the regal dignity was allowed to her son Athalaric. HENRY, vol. vii. p. 205, states, that at Philip de Valois' accession, there existed a son of the daughter of Louis Hutin, and another by one of the daughters of Philip le Long; but this is doubtful, if not an error, for at the death of Louis, Joanna, the eldest of these females, was but four or five years of age, consequently, at the period referred to, she could not have been more than sixteen or seventeen. The continuator of William of Nangis, a contemporary chronicler, whose account of these transactions may be favourably contrasted with the unsatisfactory notices of John le Bel, states, that many persons in France, learned in the laws, considered the king of England's claim as superior to that of Philip de Valois, and infers that judgment was given against Edward from a disinclination in those who pronounced it, to submit to the sovereignty of the English.

² This assembly, be it remembered, was not "The States General," consequently its decision, it has been argued, did not amount to a law.

expedient to make his homage to Philip de Valois, however disagreeable it might be to him, as satisfactory to that monarch as possible; but he had objects in view which he found he could easily attain, by keeping the king of France in good humour. He, therefore, not only satisfied his demands in this matter, but for several years continued to prevent any offensive demonstration by amusing the French king with hopes of having him as a companion in the Holy Land—Philip being very desirous of commencing a new crusade—and by holding forth a prospect of a union between their offspring. Philip was to some extent deluded by these fair demonstrations, but he also was disposed to practise in the same school of diplomacy. Ostensibly he appeared on excellent terms with the king of England, but availed himself of every opportunity to cause him annoyance. It is amusing to trace, in the manner in which these two sovereigns managed their foreign relations, the bold outlines of that intricate science so completely associated with the name of Machiavelli, which has since been so much the study of potentates and their ministers.

Edward's grand object appears to have been to improve as much as possible his position at home, that he might be left to act with greater freedom abroad. With such a troublesome neighbour as Scotland, he knew perfectly well it would be exceedingly hazardous for him to leave his dominions, abstracting from its defensive resources such a force as he wanted for carrying on a continental war; therefore, he diligently exerted himself to bring Scotland into a state from which nothing offensive could be dreaded. In the working out of this design he found a useful instrument in Baliol; and there is little doubt he would have been successful to the fullest extent, had Baliol possessed a moderate degree of prudence. But even had he succeeded in freeing himself from all dread of an enemy at his own doors, he dared not hope that he was sufficiently strong by himself to appear in the character of invader of such a powerful kingdom as France; he therefore endeavoured to create alliances with such of the princes,

nobles, and other persons of influence on the continent, who were most likely to come into his views and assist him in their realisation. As early as the year 1328 he is found forming the project of a league with the duke of Brabant, to serve him with such of his nobles as he could bring into his service, against any prince with whom he might at any time be at war. This he shortly followed up with various arrangements with many other nobles whose assistance was desirable; and his negotiations proceeded with such success, that by the year 1337 he had succeeded in forming the closest alliances with a considerable number of the most influential personages in Flanders and Germany, and the provinces bordering on France.

In this state of things, Edward was encouraged to carry out his designs by an individual whose countenance could not but be of the greatest service to him. Among the peers of France whose influence had been exerted to obtain the throne for Philip de Valois was Robert d'Artois, count of Beaumont le Roger, a powerful nobleman, equally brave and intelligent; but Philip chose to forget his obligations to him, and when as a party at a suit at law, Robert d'Artois required his good offices, the judgment he received was so little to his satisfaction, that after imprudently expressing a threat against his sovereign, he found it necessary to become an exile.¹ He proceeded to England, where his reputation as a commander made him welcome to her warlike monarch, to whom he was related; and the quarrel that caused the visit, which soon got known, was almost as satisfactory a passport to his good offices. To Robert d'Artois has been attributed by some writers the merit of persuading Edward to put forth his claim to the throne of France. There

¹ GRAFTON'S *Chronicle at large*, by Ellis, vol. i. p. 336. The French historians accuse Robert d'Artois of having produced a number of forged documents, to support his claim to the property which he disputed with his aunt, and that their true character having been detected, and judgment given against him, he was so enraged as to quit France, vowing vengeance against its monarch. But this charge is by no means clearly established. LANCELOT, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tom. x.

is no doubt his representations had considerable influence over the mind of the king of England, but his resolution had been formed long previous to his kinsman's visit.

A Norman French poem, known by the title of *Le Voeu du Heron*,¹ contains some curious details respecting the manner in which it was believed Edward of Windsor was induced to declare war against Philip de Valois; and, although the author shews himself a partisan of the king of France, greatly prejudiced against the party of his rival, his work contains such an animated picture of the times in which he wrote, that an account of it cannot but be acceptable to the historical student. The poet begins by informing his readers, that towards the conclusion of the month of September, in the year 1338, when the vines were dry, the roses dead, the leaves stripped of their foliage, and the birds mute, Edward was at London, seated at table in his marble palace, surrounded by dukes, earls, and knight-errants, dames, and damosels, love having the first place in their thoughts, and entertaining the most favourable sentiments towards his cousin and neighbour, the king of France; and with him was Robert d'Artois, a knight of great lineage, who, having been banished from France, had found refuge at the court of the king of England. Some days before, this foreign knight had been enjoying the brave sport of hunting with his friend the English monarch and his nobles—as he had often done in his own country—having on his wrist a small hawk, who brought down a heron as he was flying over a river. As soon as Robert d'Artois beheld the ignoble prey his favourite had secured, he felt ashamed, but in a moment resolved to turn the accident to some account. On returning to the king's palace, he went with it into the kitchen and gave orders for its being carefully cooked; and when the company were seated at table, the heron was

¹ Preserved in MS. in the Bibliothèque de Berne. A faithful transcript is given by M. Ch. Nodier in his edition of SAINT PALAYE, 8vo, 1826. *Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, tom. ii. p. 95.

brought in between two silver dishes, preceded by two fiddlers, a *quistreneus* (a player on a kind of guitar), and two maidens singing. Robert d'Artois then rose and addressed the assembly in somewhat contemptible terms, praising the ignoble bird as excellent food for dastards, he being afraid of his own shadow, and announced his intention, in the first place, of presenting it to the king, for having allowed himself to be disinherited of a noble country, and for permitting the person who styled himself king of France to spoil him (Robert d'Artois) of his lands.

At hearing this bold appeal, the king of England started up, and after acknowledging how much he and his knights had deserved the imputations thrown out against them, made a vow to God in paradise and to his sweet mother by whom he was nourished, that before six years should pass he would cross the sea with his subjects, defy his rival, and carry desolation into the heart of his country; and that he would wait for him and his army and give him battle on his own ground whenever he should appear in arms against him, if he had but one man against ten. After this, he excused himself for having performed homage, to which act he was beguiled when he was young in years. Then the author puts in his mouth, with sundry allusions to Hector, Achilles, Paris, and Alexander the Great, a very vindictive threat. Robert d'Artois hailed this speech with a laugh of congratulation, rejoicing, that he should have his revenge against one who had thrown his wife and children into prison, and had wronged him infamously. He concludes some animadversions on that monarch, by promising to go into France without fear, and, if necessary, fight against Philip and his party.

Then he took the silver dishes in his hand enclosing the roasted heron, and with his fiddlers, and the *quistreneus*, and the two damsels, singing a pleasant song, he proceeded towards a handsome and distinguished knight (Conte Salebrin), the earl of Salisbury, who sat near his fair mistress, a daughter of the earl of Derby, devotedly attached to him; and after declaring his repu-

tation for courage, begged of him without delay to take an oath on the heron; but the lover declared if he must swear, he would prefer swearing by the peerless maiden by his side, making a profane comparison between her and the Virgin Mary; and he entreated her to close one of his eyes, which she did at once with her fair fingers; then, whilst her fingers rested on his closed eye, he made a vow to the omnipotent God and his dear mother, whose beauty is resplendent, not to employ that member till he had arrived in France, and was fighting against Philip and his brave people.

With increased satisfaction Robert d'Artois next demanded an oath from the earl's fair neighbour, and she very readily vowed never to take a husband, whatever might be his dignity or possessions, till her vassal had fulfilled the vow that he had just made out of his extreme love for her, promising on his return to reward him as he deserved. Robert d'Artois then proceeded to Sir Walter Manny, who eagerly entered into a vow to take and spoil the city of which a distinguished French knight, Gondemar de Fay, had long been governor, without sparing any of the inhabitants. The earl of Derby was next appealed to, and he vowed to challenge Louis of Flanders, promising to destroy his city if he refused to fight him. The earl of Suffolk afterwards took a vow, the object of which was to overthrow the king of Bohemia in single combat, and deprive him of his horse. John de Beaumont, who is present, is represented in a very different mood, for which a knowledge of the part he eventually played fully accounts; he speaks here in favour of the king of France, and in condemnation of the present proceedings. The silver dishes were again taken up, the minstrels resumed their song, and Robert d'Artois proceeded to a knight called John de Fauquemont, who, after disclaiming from his poverty any right to meddle in so important a business, determines to meddle with a vengeance, and threatens the enemies of the king of England with utter extermination. John de Beaumont is next called upon, who, in a somewhat rambling speech, vows, if the king of France does not recall him

from banishment, to attend the king of England in the projected invasion and conduct his host; but should he be recalled, declares his determination to have nothing to do with Edward or his designs. The last of the company to whom the silver dishes were brought was the queen. At first she excused herself, saying that ladies who had lords had no power to make oaths; but the king giving her permission, she is represented by the writer making a vow, the spirit of which is quite opposed to her well-known amiable character. The heron was distributed, and with a festive banquet the ceremony concluded.

• It was natural that the earl of Artois and king Edward should have soon grown intimate, and that they should have placed considerable confidence in each other. Edward created his friend earl of Richmond, gave him many other marks of favour,¹ and had him constantly in his society. These favours increased the zeal of his ally, who supported Edward's claim to the French throne with all his influence. When Edward was engaged in the Scottish wars, the new earl accompanied him, and continually let him know to how much greater advantage his time might be passed in endeavouring to win his birthright from his enemy, Philip de Valois. Thus urged, he felt more and more desirous of concluding his warlike proceedings in Scotland, and the intrigues of the French king to support the cause of David the Bruce, followed by his commencing hostilities in a manner peculiarly aggravating,² made it impossible for him to delay any longer disclosing the design he had so long meditated. Philip had given shelter to the young king of Scotland when he was obliged to fly from his kingdom; and knowing how great an advantage he could derive by making use of him to the annoyance and injury of England, he bent

¹ Amongst the favours conferred by Edward upon Robert d'Artois was permission to hunt in his forests. The warrant for which was dated the 23d of April, 1337. *RYMERI Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 747.

² Stow, p. 231, says, "he made great bragges and shewed great cruelty, for he outlawed, slew, and imprisoned all Englishmen; and confiscated the goods and cattels of all that were found in his kingdome of France, threatening that hee would bee revenged for his friends the Scots."

all his powers to support his cause. He first satisfied himself by making strenuous efforts to obtain from the king of England an arrangement in favour of his young ally; but in this he did not succeed. The cause of David the Bruce getting almost hopeless, some of his friends in Scotland endeavoured to bring about an amicable settlement of all matters in dispute between him and the king of England; but Philip having received notice of the negotiation, contrived to put a stop to it before it was settled, and obtaining intelligence of the favour his banished subject received from king Edward, he was so enraged as openly to shew his hostility.

Robert d'Artois availed himself of every opportunity to persuade Edward to make a bold movement in support of his claim on the French throne,¹ and this advice having been approved of by the king's council, he was induced to lose no time in acting upon it. At the suggestion of some of his ablest ministers he sent ambassadors to the earl of Hainault, his father-in-law, who readily offered both advice and assistance.² He also wrote to Louis of Bavaria on the same subject, from whom he obtained a promise of marching in person to his assistance, when necessary, with 2000 men-at-arms, for the trifling consideration of 200,000 florins. Many other embassies were likewise projected.³ The ambassadors being directed not to spare that potent negotiator, gold; and they acted up to their instructions. Edward's preparations having been nearly completed, he delayed making any offensive demonstration till he had published to the world the cause of his quarrel. With this object he issued a proclamation dated Westminster, August 28, 1337, in which he declared the several steps he had taken to prevent a war breaking

¹ FROISSART, chap. xxvi.

² *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 783.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxviii. states, that in the embassy to the Duke of Brabant there were several young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth, so that they could not see with it. It was said they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France, nor would they make any reply to whatever questions were asked them, so that all marvelled at their strange demeanour.

This is evidently one of the results of "the Vow of the Heron."

out between England and France, stating, that he had offered his son, the duke of Cornwall, in marriage to a daughter of Philip, without desiring any dowry. II. He had made an offer of his sister Mary, countess of Gueldres, in marriage to John, Philip's eldest son, with a very great sum of money. III. He had offered Philip as much money as he could reasonably demand by way of satisfaction for damages. IV. He had proposed to accompany him to the Holy Land, on condition that he would restore him one moiety of the lands which he kept from him. V. He had proposed the same offer if Philip would but engage to make him that restitution after their return. VI. At Philip's request he had granted the Scots a truce, during which they had killed the earl of Athol. VII. And notwithstanding this instance of the Scots' treachery, he had, at the request of the king of France, granted them another truce.

Edward also caused letters to be written to the pope, explaining his situation in a similar manner,¹ and wrote again the following month excusing himself for having formed an alliance with the emperor, who was under excommunication. To these Benedict XII. replied by sending two cardinals to the king of England, to dissuade him from entering upon a war with France, and he paid such respect to their representation that he deferred commencing hostilities till the midsummer of 1338. He had refrained from putting forward his claim to the throne of France till the 7th of October, 1337, when he gave a commission to the duke of Brabant, the marquis of Juliers, and William Bohun, earl of Northampton, to demand and take possession of the crown of France in his name, sending letters patent constituting the duke his vicar-general in France, and a proclamation commanding all Frenchmen to shew him the same respect they would pay himself. In the midst of these negotiations, William, earl of Hainault, died, and was succeeded in his lands and government by his son John.² The deceased noble

¹ Dated Westminster, September 1st, 1337. *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 807.

² FROISSART, chap. xxiv., says he died on the 6th of June, 1337.

had taken great interest in the proceedings of his son-in-law, the king of England, and had, some time before his decease, been instrumental in obtaining for him the support of one who, though holding no higher rank than an humble burgess, was a person of greater authority in Flanders than the sovereign of the country, who was a determined partisan of France. This was Jacob von Artevelde, a brewer of metheglin.

Philip de Valois had got together a considerable army and all the material of war, but the rumours of the threatening proceedings of his formidable rival put a stop to every hope of conquest in the Holy Land, if he had ever entertained any, and his forces were so placed as to render an invasion of England by them exceedingly probable.¹ The troops he had raised for an attack on Jerusalem, whatever may have been his arrangements, apparently having that object in view, found that the only enemies they had to fight against were born on the English soil. Philip de Valois had notice of the alliances the king of England was forming on the continent, and lost no time in strengthening himself by creating a similar combination.² He began the attack in what he considered the most vulnerable part of his enemy's possessions; but a fleet of seven sail he sent off to the Scottish coast, were overtaken, attacked, and captured.

Edward had been tolerably successful in his foreign negotiations, but much remained to be done at home before he could consider himself in a state to take the field against his powerful antagonist. "The sinews of war" had yet to be procured, and he set about obtaining them in a style much more strongly indicating his supremacy than his justice; but justice, at such a period and under such circumstances, was not to be

¹ It is impossible to read the documents in the *Fœdera*, illustrating this period, without becoming satisfied that Philip desired much more to direct a crusade against the English than against the infidels. Edward soon perceived what were his real intentions, and publicly made known his opinion of them.

² Among Philip's allies were John, king of Bohemia, and several petty potentates and warlike barons in Germany, Spain, Dauphiné, Savoy, and other countries.

expected from any sovereign. He demanded provisions of all kinds from the different counties, and borrowed largely from the clergy. He received unusually liberal grants from his parliament, who, to a man, supported his claims; but they were insufficient for his wants, so the estates of the Lombard merchants, under colour of an accusation of usury, were seized into the king's hands; and the same fate befell the Alien Priories in England. He also, by a similar stretch of his prerogative, took possession of all the wool in the country, which amounted to about 10,000 sacks, giving the owners wooden tallies as a security for payment, but at a price miserably below their value. By these measures, added to the desperate one of pawning his crown for 50,000 florins, Edward managed to acquire a well-filled treasury and ample magazines.¹

But whilst increasing his offensive resources, the king of England took equal care in putting his country on the defensive. All places on the coast likely to favour a descent were strengthened by bodies of armed men on whom the fullest confidence could be placed; and great care was taken to collect and arm a navy capable of resisting any armament likely to enter the English Channel with a hostile intention. Admirals were appointed to watch particular portions of the coast,² and all necessary precautions employed to guard against a surprise. Every thing having at last been settled, Edward embarked his army³ in a fleet of 500 ships,⁴ from the port of Orwell in Suffolk, on the 12th of July, 1338, and steering for the Flemish coast, arrived safely at Antwerp a few days after. It had been previously arranged that his allies were to meet him in

¹ HOLINSHED, p. 902; KNIGHTON, 2570; RYMER, vol. v. pp. 3, 48, &c.

² RYMER.

³ A division of his forces, under the command of Henry Plantagenet, earl of Derby, Reginald lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Manny, with 500 men-at-arms and 2000 archers, had preceded him, and had gallantly attacked an army of 5000 Flemings, under Guy of Flanders—who had garrisoned the island of Cadsand—which they defeated with great slaughter.—WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 132. FROISSART, chap. xxxi.

⁴ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 119. ROBERT DE AVESBURY says 300.

this city, and he had no sooner landed than he sent them word of his arrival. Several of the most influential, among whom were the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, and Sir John de Beaumont, uncle to the lord of Hainault, speedily made their appearance, and were feasted by the king of England with a display of magnificence that astonished quite as much as it gratified them.¹ Nevertheless, there did not seem in them that readiness to support him he had been led to expect. He was therefore obliged to give them a hint upon the necessity of attending to the important business they had in hand. "For," said he, "I am, upon the promise of your good wills, come hither myself, and not only remain here at great expenses, but also the season and convenient time of the year passeth away; therefore I pray you to let me know your minds."²

The German lords appeared somewhat surprised at this appeal, and after some consultation amongst themselves, replied, that they had come to Antwerp merely for the pleasure of seeing their good friend and ally the king of England, and were not in a situation to give a decisive answer to his request; then, as if with a view of reconciling him to their want of zeal in his service, they assured him that they would each go home with no other object than to consider what he had said, and return to him at any time he might appoint: with so full an answer, they could not be considered an obstacle in the carrying out his projects. King Edward did not conceal the effect this dilatoriness and indecision made upon him, and remonstrated against allowing any further delay; but it was ultimately decided that they should have three weeks for consideration, and then they departed to their several territories or districts.³ It was evident to the politic monarch that but little dependence could be placed upon his foreign friends, notwithstanding the negotiations he had carried on with so much expense to

¹ FROISSART, chap. xxxii., says that multitudes came to Antwerp to behold the extraordinary splendour in which the king of England lived.

² GRAFTON, vol. i. p. 340.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxxii.

secure their earnest co-operation ; but he found he had no help for it, so while they were hesitating as to which side in the quarrel it would be most to their interest to adopt,¹ Edward feasted his captains in the abbey of St. Bernard, which he had made his residence, and many of his nobles rambled into the neighbourhood, being liberally entertained wherever they went. The three weeks passed very pleasantly to the officers of the English army, and at their termination came, not the German lords, but their excuses. The duke of Brabant was not forthcoming ; and the other nobles held back till he could be prevailed on to leave the intrigues he was believed to be carrying on with the king of France, and play his part in the coalition against him.

Had king Edward possessed a less energetic mind, he would have been disheartened by such evasions from parties on whom he relied for affording him the means of measuring himself with his adversary ; but he had too much at stake, and was too determined to carry out his intentions to give them up without a struggle : therefore, having received a hint from the earl of Gueldres,² who seems to have been the most honest of those uncertain confederates, he took the trouble of communicating with the duke of Brabant, and succeeded so far in impressing that nobleman with a proper sense of his own dignity, that he agreed to meet the lords of the empire, and consult upon what they ought to do.³ These "lords of the empire" were certain petty potentates and nobles of Germany and Flanders who acknowledged the emperor Louis of Bavaria as their feudal superior. All the king of England's backward allies laid claim to this distinction, and, agreeable to the wishes of so influential a neighbour as the duke of Brabant, they met at Halle, where, after considerable deliberation, they declared that king

¹ The duke of Brabant went to Louvain, where he opened communications with Philip de Valois, with the object of making himself equally accessible to him as he had become to the king of England.—GRAFTON, p. 340 ; FROISSART, chap. xxxii.

² KNIGHTON, 2571.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxxii.

Edward must obtain the permission of their lord the emperor before they could be allowed to join him to wage war upon the king of France, intimating that this concurrence could be easily procured, as there existed a fair cause of quarrel on which the emperor might be induced to defy king Philip.¹

Edward immediately despatched an embassy to the emperor, with whom went commissioners from the confederates to give them authority and support. The duke of Brabant, however, declined taking the decided step of authorising any one to express his sentiments at the imperial throne, but to prevent giving offence to the king of England, he offered his castle of Louvain as a residence for that monarch during his stay in the country, and there shortly afterwards Edward and his court removed. Louis of Bavaria received the embassy with much respect, but it is believed that his ultimate co-operation was owing much more to the counsels of his queen Margaret, sister of Philippa of Hainault, than to their diplomacy. He willingly agreed to their wishes, and proposed to invest the king of England with such an authority that the lords of the empire might support him without hesitation. On the return of the embassy, king Edward proceeded, with a handsome retinue, to meet the emperor, of whose approach he had had notice.² They met at Coblenz,³ with all the splendour with which either monarch could invest himself, and the simple burgesses found ample source

¹ The confederates alluded to a law by which no king of France was allowed to obtain or keep possession of any place within the limits of the empire; notwithstanding which Philip de Valois held the castles of Crevecoeur, in Cambresis, and of Agleux in Artois, and the city of Cambray.—FROISSART, chap. xxxii.

² KNIGHTON, 2571.

³ Mr. James (*Hist. of Edw. Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 100), on the authority of M. Dacier, in his notes to FROISSART, considers this city to have been the scene of the interview between the two kings, although the English historians name Cologne, and the *Chronique de Flandres* Frankfort. The evidence is in favour of Coblenz; and it does not follow, as Mr. James has persuaded himself, that, because a name has been given erroneously, all the circumstances related with it should be as little worthy of confidence. The particulars furnished in the text are chiefly derived from Knighton and Walsingham, who are authorities not to be too hastily dismissed.

of marvel and comment in the military display which was so prominent a feature in this interview. Some conception may be formed of the magnificence of the scene, from a knowledge of the nature and number of its actors and spectators, which, besides the two sovereigns, consisted of four powerful dukes, three archbishops and six bishops, thirty-seven earls, and of barons, baronets, knights, and esquires, according to the estimate of the heralds, 17,000.¹

No building being sufficiently commodious for such an immense assembly, two thrones were erected in the market-place.² The emperor seated himself on one, the king of England on the other; the latter successfully resisting an attempt to induce him to submit to the usual homage exacted by emperors from less elevated sovereigns, of kissing the imperial feet, stating that he was an anointed king, having the privilege of taking life, and being accountable to no one but his Creator, as King of kings, therefore could not abase himself before any mortal potentate.³

The emperor, gloriously apparelled, bearing in his right hand the imperial sceptre, and in his left the golden orb, denoting universal sovereignty, a German knight, holding over his head a naked sword, publicly adjudged the king of France, by his disloyalty, falsehood, and villany towards him, to be unworthy the protection of the empire, defied him and all his power, and pronounced him deserving of any punishment with which his offences could be visited;⁴ after which, he announced to his numerous audience, that he constituted Edward, king of England, to be his deputy and vicar-general throughout the German empire, and granted him absolute power on this side the empire as far as Cologne; at the same time the imperial charter by which this office was conferred was presented to the full view of the assembly. This imposing ceremony was followed by a grand entertainment; but the former was not deemed sufficiently binding till the church had

¹ BARNES, *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 123.

² WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 132.

³ KNIGHTON, 2571.

⁴ ASHMOLE, p. 649.

sanctioned it, consequently the next day the two kings proceeded in state, with all the nobles and prelates, to the principal church, where they heard divine service; and after high mass, the emperor and his nobles took a solemn oath that they would assist and defend the king of England against the king of France and all his partisans, to live and die with him, for the space of seven years, provided the war between the kings of England and France should not terminate before that time. In addition, the lords of the empire belonging to that part between the Rhine and the sea took an oath of service to the king of England, promising to be ready whenever called upon to wage war against the king of France, in any place required, whether the king of England were there in person or not; and if any individual of their body refused his service, they bound themselves to unite for his destruction. All these ceremonies having been properly performed, each monarch displayed his munificence in giving entertainments to his allies, and then, with many professions of consideration, they separated.

Edward returned to Antwerp,¹ whence, as vicar of the empire, he issued his summons to his German confederates, for a general meeting, or parliament, by November the 11th, to be held at Arques² (Herck), on the frontier of Brabant. Extensive preparations were made to render the proceedings of this assembly as imposing as possible; the apartment in which they were to deliberate, the town-hall, being hung with the richest drapery, like the presence-chamber of a sovereign prince. Here the king of England sat enthroned on a seat five feet higher than those of his associates, wearing a superb gold crown, and clad in magnificent vestments, when the business, for which they had been summoned, commenced by a herald reading to the lords who attended,³ the charter of the emperor, by which the king of England was constituted vicar of the empire; after which, the assembly,⁴ without any

¹ *Fœdera*.

² FROISSART, chap. xxxiv.; but KNIGHTON, 2572, says Malines.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxxiv.

⁴ KNIGHTON, 2572.

sign of dissent, expressed their willingness to respect the provisions of this instrument in every particular, and such as had not taken the oath at Coblenz were now sworn to the king of England's service. Claims were then heard, and judgment given by the king, with the same observances as if he were the emperor. An ancient law of the empire was then discussed, and directed to be maintained. It obliged every one, hostilely inclined, to give three days' notice to his enemy before venturing against him, and condemned any one omitting such challenge to degradation. Nothing disturbed the harmony of the meeting—one spirit appeared to direct its counsels, and each of the warlike chiefs present seemed as eager to embrace the king of England's quarrel as that monarch was to avail himself of his services.

The bishop of Liege, a prelate of great influence in the interest of France, not having regarded the summons, a formal complaint was made to the emperor, who replied that he was about to join the king of England himself, and assist him personally in opening the campaign; and after the lords had sufficiently deliberated, they came to the determination of uniting their forces, and commencing operations by laying siege to the city of Cambray on the 8th of July of the following year; and then separated to make the necessary preparations.

King Edward proceeded in state to the castle of Louvain, where his queen,¹ with the ladies of her court, were creating the most favourable impression on their German friends. Indeed, all classes of the English army had contrived to make themselves exceedingly popular by their gallantry and liberality; the nobles displaying a generosity of disposition which greatly increased the good feeling with which they were at first regarded. Edward found it necessary to remove to Antwerp with all his court, and although the state of his kingdom, especially on the Scottish borders, through the active intrigues of his enemy,

¹ FROISSART, chap. xxxiv.

might give him some uneasiness, he knew his foreign alliances so completely depended upon his presence on the continent, that he was obliged to rest contented with sending back a portion of his forces. Notwithstanding this diminution of his army, his expenses had been immense, and they continued to drain his treasury so rapidly, that a fresh and a very considerable supply was necessary, to enable him to take the field in the following summer with proper effect. The gentle squeezing his subjects had had before he left England was now repeated,¹ and such was the affection they entertained towards him, that every one cheerfully paid the exacted quota, with his best wishes for his monarch's success. Through these good offices, Edward was enabled to keep his Christmas at Antwerp in most regal state,² and to extend and strengthen his alliances. He established there a royal mint, and issued a considerable quantity of gold and silver coin, which, there is no doubt, he found very serviceable in exciting the zeal of the lukewarm, and inflaming the ardour of the friendly. The duke of Brabant, however, still continued his double dealing, and the bishop of Liege had not yet acknowledged the vicar of the empire.

Edward of Windsor had not been allowed to proceed so far in his preparations without the pope taking measures to stop the threatened war. Cardinals were sent to him,³ truces begged,⁴ and communications came from Rome to dissuade him from breaking the peace;⁵ but the king of England was too shrewd not to dis-

¹ KNIGHTON, 2571.

² The queen had brought over with her the female relations of her husband's principal captains, which rendered the royal court exceedingly brilliant. She was "newly come thither out of England with great noblesse, and well accompanied with beautifull ladyes and goodly damozelles of England."—GRAFTON, vol. i, p. 342. On the 29th of November Philippa was brought to bed of a "man childe" (Lionel), whose christening was celebrated with great ceremony.

³ These were Peter, priest-cardinal of St. Praxed, and Bertrand, deacon-cardinal of St. Mary in Aquizo.—ROT. FRAN. 11 EDW. III. m. 2. Dors.

⁴ ROT. ALMAN. 12 EDW. III. part 1, m. 5, A.D. 1338.

⁵ BARNES' *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 119.

cover the leaning towards the interests of Philip de Valois which the pontiff exhibited in all his transactions; therefore, he treated the cardinals with respect; granted the desired truce when not interfering with his arrangements; replied to the pope's letters by a vigorous exposition of the justice of his quarrel;¹ and increased his exertions to place himself in a position to maintain it advantageously. Philip was not an indifferent spectator of these transactions; he pressed his antagonist wherever he saw he could do so with effect,² and employed all his influence to multiply his means of defence.³ Letters continued to pass between the two sovereigns,⁴ and ambassadors also were appointed to negotiate a settlement of all matters in dispute; but they benefited neither of the principal parties, and imposed upon no one who belonged to them.

The time which had been agreed upon for opening the campaign was now fast approaching, and the aspirants for military glory, who had ventured from England to fight under the banners of their monarch were looking forward with great anxiety for the commencement of hostilities. Edward had received considerable reinforcements from home, his subjects being remarkably anxious to support his cause with their weapons as well as with their property. It has been stated that they were lodged at Vilvorde,⁵ a small

¹ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 83. WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 119. Clement replied with an equally long epistle denouncing the emperor, condemning Edward's acceptance of the office of vicar of the empire, and holding out a threat of excommunication if he did not act in a manner more satisfactory to him.—ODORIC, RAINALD. *Ad. An.* 1338. This threat gave Edward very little uneasiness, and he pursued his course without paying any attention to the various strictures his correspondent had indulged in.

² Besides greatly assisting the Scots, Philip despatched several naval armaments to the English coast that effected great mischief. KNIGHTON, 2570.

³ DU CHESNE, f. 646.

⁴ Edward appears to have been undecided as to his proper course in claiming the throne of France; for in one commission he styles his competitor simply "Philippus de Valois consanguineus noster Franciæ." Whilst in another of the same date he is addressed in the more imposing style of "Excellentissimus princeps, dominus Philippus, rex Franciæ, illustris consanguineus noster charissimus."

⁵ FROISSART, chap. xxxv.

town in Brabant, where their monarch made every arrangement for their accommodation. Here were 1600 men-at-arms, and 10,000 archers, with a vast number of camp-followers, all natives of the English soil, and proper provision had to be found for them. But their expense, however considerable, formed only one item in the king of England's expenditure. The retaining fees of the lords of the empire were on the most liberal scale, and for every man-at-arms, belonging to them, they induced to enter into his service, they were allowed fifteen florins a month¹ (about eighteen pence a-day), unusually high wages. Then came the entertainment, in which he chose to exhibit his munificence to his German friends—an example so closely followed by his principal commanders, that they made themselves exceedingly popular all over the neighbourhood in which they happened to be quartered.² Notwithstanding these gratifying attentions from their emperor's vicar, he was obliged to stir his lethargic allies with frequent messages to hasten their preparations. The time for action came, but they came not. Dissatisfied with excuses, Edward sent a peremptory summons for a general meeting at Mechlin, on the 12th of September, which was obeyed; and after some debate, it was agreed that the campaign should open in fifteen days from that time at the latest, and, by general consent, a defiance was sent to Philip de Valois, which all the confederates signed except the cautious, double-dealing duke of Brabant,³ who, with his customary ingenuity, excused himself.

Whilst in Mechlin, Edward obtained intelligence of the loss of two of his ships, laden with treasure, after a gallant fight with vessels of twice their size and complement of men, in the pay of the king of France, and of certain deplorable ravages the different fleets of the enemy had made on the coast of England. This news so greatly excited him, that one of the two

¹ ROT. ALMAN. 11 EDW. III. m. 1.

² FROISSART, chap. xxxv.

³ KNIGHTON, 2574. FROISSART, chap. xxxv.

cardinals, who had been long endeavouring to induce him to abandon his expedition, having ventured to express a doubt of his being able to make any impression on so mighty a power as France, asserting that a silken cord, he could not pass, defended that kingdom, was answered, that however invincible these Frenchmen might be thought, he would march into their country with banner displayed, and would either win the realm against all comers, or leave his body in the field.¹ He gave evidence that this was no idle boast, by putting his army in motion. He was soon strengthened by his German auxiliaries, to the amount of 20,000 men; but the duke of Brabant not making his appearance, the king sent to him to know whether he intended joining him at the siege of Cambray, and the duke, finding the game he was playing would not avail him, promised that as soon as the siege was commenced, he would make his appearance before the walls with 1200 spears, with which reply Edward appeared satisfied.² Others of his allies, who were more to be depended on, brought forward their forces, and joined him as he advanced. They passed Brussels, and, after a short stay at Mons, approached Valenciennes. Here the king found himself among old acquaintances, especially Sir John de Beaumont, the hero of his first campaign in Scotland. He, with his nephew, the young lord of Hainault, were amongst the most active of the confederates. The latter took his brother-in-law by the hand on his entrance into his city, and led him to the Great Hall, which had been handsomely prepared for his reception. As they were on the point of entering there, the bishop of Lincoln,³ who was in the king's retinue, elevated his voice and cried, "William d'Aussonne, bishop of Cambray, I, as proctor on the part of the king of England, vicar of the emperor, do admonish you that you consent to open the gates of the city of Cambray, which, if you fail in doing,

¹ BARNES, *Hist. of Edw.* III. p. 137.

² FROISSART, chap. xxxviii.

³ This prelate was not only a distinguished diplomatist, but possessed unquestionable courage. He was much respected by Edward.

you shall forfeit your lands, and we will make an entry by force."¹

It was impossible that the prelate, thus formally cited, should reply, for an excellent reason—he was not present; and finding that his summons was unregarded, the king's proctor, with better success, cried out, "Lord of Hainault! we admonish you, on the part of our lord the emperor, that you come and assist the king of England, his vicar, before the city of Cambray, with all your force." To this the lord of Hainault answered, "Right willingly." Then he led the king into the hall, and conducted him to his chamber to prepare for a magnificent supper, at which he entertained him and his principal commanders. The king of England was, no doubt, greatly gratified by his brother-in-law's attentions, and looked upon them as evidence of a sincere attachment to his interests. It will be seen presently what these attentions were worth.

The next day the allied army was in full march for Cambray, where Edward soon afterwards took up a position, and was almost immediately joined by those lords of the empire who had not accompanied him, among whom came the duke of Brabant, according to his promise, with a well-equipped force, and he shewed he had made up his mind as to which side he intended to be, by sending a challenge to the French king.² The siege was vigorously pressed, and the surrounding country grievously harassed; a little skirmishing took place, in which some of king Edward's captains evinced distinguished gallantry. Among these were two, who subsequently became the most fortunate commanders that fought under the banners of the king of England and the Black Prince; one was Walter de Manny, for his valour lately honoured with the dignity of knight-

¹ FROISSART, chap. xxxviii.

² Sir Lewis de Tranehen had, from the duke of Brabant's representations, been so satisfied of his honourable intentions towards France, that having whilst at the court of the French king maintained the duke's honesty with extraordinary zeal, he was so hurt when his double dealing was placed beyond a doubt, that he is said to have died of grief.—FROISSART, chap. xxxviii.

hood, and believed to be the friend and tutor of the father; the other, John Chandos, now serving in the army as an esquire, from which his daring spirit and military knowledge soon raised him to be the friend and tutor of the son.¹ Edward had now 40,000 men at his command, but although an attack on the gates afforded occasionally an opportunity for the display of their courage and discipline, Cambray being of great strength and well defended,² the siege was likely to be too tedious to suit either himself or his army. A council of war was called, in which Robert d'Artois, who still retained the confidence of the king and was generally very much respected, took a prominent part. There seemed to be no difference of opinion. It was seen by every one experienced in military matters, that a considerable time must elapse before Cambray could be taken; and as the winter was fast approaching, and the army could only be retained in its present unprofitable position, where both forage and provisions were scarce, at an immense expense, it was sufficiently evident that a bold push into the enemy's territory was the most desirable measure that could be adopted.³

On the 10th of October, 1339, the allies broke up from their encampment, marking their progress with the usual barbarities of an invading army,⁴ and crossing the Scheldt, shortly afterwards entered France without opposition. Before, however, the king of England obtained a footing on the lands of his adversary, the earls of Hainault and Namur drew off their forces, on the pretext that as they were vassals of the king of

¹ Edward III. For other notices of Sir Walter Manny, the reader is referred to the Life of EDWARD of WOODSTOCK in this volume; and for a curious biography of the gallant Chandos, see WILLIAM WRAYLEY'S *True Vse of Armorie shewed by Historie, and plainly proved by Example*, 4to. 1592.

² The garrison had recently been reinforced with a detachment of 500 men-at-arms under the command of John, duke of Normandy, son of Philip de Valois; says MEZERAY (tom. iii. part 2, p. 15), but this is doubtful. Another authority (M. DACIER, *note to FROISSART*) states that Cambray was defended by Stephen de la Baume, grand master of the cross-bowmen of France, who had lately reinforced the place with 200 lances.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxxviii.

⁴ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 46. KNIGHTON, 2574.

France, they were bound to give him their assistance whenever he should be assailed on his own lands. To this Edward courteously said, "God assist you!" and the two earls led their forces in a different direction.¹

One of the earliest acts of Edward of Windsor on entering the French territory was to call before him a young esquire, called Henry of Flanders,² on whom he conferred the honour of knighthood, presenting him at the same time with a grant of the value of 200*l.* per annum properly secured in England. He distinguished John Chandos in the same manner, and a few others who had secured his favourable notice by their conspicuous bravery; and Lawrence Hastings was by royal charter created earl of Pembroke. The time was well chosen for making these gallant spirits examples to their less fortunate brethren in arms, and many who witnessed the imposing ceremony with which the king bestowed his favours, were impatient to earn the same distinction. The army was again put in motion, and advanced in admirable order, the marshals being William Bohun, earl of Northampton, Hugh Audley, earl of Gloucester, and Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk; Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, being lord high constable. Edward had remained for two days in the abbey of mount St. Martin, near the Scheldt, and he marked the hospitality with which he had been entertained by the monks, by publishing, on his quitting the abbey, express orders to the army, under pain of death, to respect the sacred edifice and all its inmates.³

The army advanced to St. Quentin, when, after a *reconnaissance*, finding the place possessed excellent defences and a numerous garrison, a council of war

¹ FROISSART, chap. xxxviii.

² He is sometimes called Henry Eam, and appears to have been a member of some distinguished Flemish family. Determining to win his spurs, he, with a handful of daring companions, made, shortly after receiving knighthood, a desperate attack upon a town called Honnecourt, but it was so vigorously defended by its abbot, a fine specimen of the church militant, that he was at last glad to draw off his forces.—BARNES, *Hist. Edw.* III. p. 140.

³ FROISSART, chap. xxxix.

decided it would be more advantageous to march in the direction of that district called the Thierasche—a scarcity of forage and provisions making it advisable to keep as near the friendly province of Hainault as possible. Hitherto Edward had met with no successes of an encouraging character. His detachments had spread themselves for many miles in their line of march, and done considerable mischief and obtained some booty, but no decisive advantage had been obtained.¹ Whilst the captains were pondering on this unsatisfactory result, intelligence reached them which excited the most lively interest. It was rumoured that the king of France was approaching with 100,000 men;² this news was to some extent confirmed on the 18th of October, by a letter from Stephen de la Baume to one of Edward's commanders, to the effect that if the king of England would select a field of battle devoid of wood, water, or morass, the king of France would give him battle. This proposition not being sufficiently official, Edward could take no notice of it; he continued his march, keeping his men in excellent array for battle, if the French army made its appearance. The duke of Gueldres and the Germans led the van, the king the centre, and the duke of Brabant the rear; but Edward had not advanced far when certain intelligence reached him that Philip with all his forces was within two leagues of him. This induced him to despatch a herald to the French king to learn whether Philip intended to give him battle. The king of France made no reply, though he courteously entertained the messenger; but his allies, the king of Bohemia and the duke of Lorraine, sent back by him letters to king Edward, under their own hands and seals, declaring that battle should be given under the circumstances de la Baume had mentioned.³

The prospect of a general engagement which should decide the quarrel of the two kings seemed equally agreeable to both armies; many of the gallant partisans of

¹ STOW, *Annals*, p. 235.

² ROBERTUS DE AVEBURY, p. 46.

³ FROISSART, chap. xl.

Philip de Valois, confident in the advantages he possessed over his rival, were anxious that he should give him battle without delay, and as if with this object, the French advanced from St. Quentin to Bouronfossa,¹ where they halted. The king of France had scarcely arrived here before he was joined by the young earl of Hainault with 500 lances, who now came to fight against the ally for whom he had so lately promised such great things. It does not appear that he received any particular marks of encouragement from Philip, though his support it was not thought prudent to refuse.² This addition, however, the French army might easily have dispensed with, for it already comprised four kings, those of France, Bohemia, Navarre, and Scotland; six dukes, those of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Athens; twenty-five earls, upwards of 5000 knights, and so many fighting men of all descriptions as, joined to the preceding, made a host of more than 100,000 men. This was formed into three divisions, each consisting of 15,000 men-at-arms and 20,000 foot. As this formidable force made a display of 227 banners and 560 pennons, when they presented themselves in order of battle, they must have created a magnificent spectacle.³ Imposing as may have been their appearance, Edward left La Chapelle and approached La Flamengerie, within a league of his powerful enemy, where the open plain between the two hosts afforded an excellent battle-field.⁴ The duke of Gueldres led the German auxiliaries, amounting to 8000 men with twenty-two banners and sixty pennons; the duke of Brabant headed a second division of 7000 men of the chivalry of Flanders, bearing twenty-four banners and eighty pennons. The king of England led the main body,⁵

¹ "Vironfosse."—FROISSART, chap. xl.

² *IBID.*

³ The marshalling of an army at the present day appears one of the grandest sights that can be presented to the eye, but the numbers and variety of banners, the glittering armour, and the superb vestments used in war in the fourteenth century, made a similar scene at that period infinitely more imposing.

⁴ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 46.

⁵ FROISSART, chap. xli. KNIGHTON, 2577.

consisting of 6000 men-at-arms and 6000 archers, all either from England or Wales, bearing twenty-eight banners and ninety pennons; these divisions were entirely infantry, the horses of the men-at-arms having been left with the baggage in a neighbouring wood, well guarded; but to support his infantry Edward had a powerful reserve of horse, consisting of 4000 men-at-arms and 2000 archers, all English, who were stationed on one of the wings under the command of the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and the lords Berkely and Milton.

When it appeared a battle was impending, Edward made a creation of knights, and after seeing each lord under his proper banner, he mounted an ambling palfrey and rode along the lines of his army with the earl of Richmond, Sir Reginald Cobham, and Sir Walter Manny, "right sweetly" entreating his captains to afford him their best assistance to support his honour, which they readily promised; then he returned to his division and commanded that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals.

Thus it was on the morning of the day fixed for deciding the quarrel of the two kings by force of arms—the armies being drawn out in battle array within sight of each other, and every man having heard mass in the full conviction that a sanguinary conflict was about to commence. Edward and his allies were prepared to fulfil their part of the engagement, but there was any thing but the same readiness with Philip and his friends. Notwithstanding the boasts of the latter, when the time came for action they were irresolute and divided in opinion. The reconnaissance they had made of their opponents¹ did not give them confidence, and instead of bringing their divisions into the field, they spent the best part of the day in idle debates in council. These sapient councillors having marched an overwhelming force against their enemy, with the express purpose of driving him out of France,

¹ Two of the lord of Hainault's knights proceeding in this duty, one, through his horse taking fright, was carried into the camp of the king of England, and taken prisoner.—FROISSART, chap. xl.

when a battle seemed inevitable, made the extraordinary discovery, that if their enemy should beat them (they being nearly three times their number), they would by no means be so pleasantly situated as if they were the victors.¹ Whilst disputing on this important point, a hare,² an apt emblem of their timid counsels, was started in the plain before the two armies, and ran among the front ranks of the Frenchmen, who made so great an outcry whilst giving her chase, that their rear, under the impression that the king of England had begun the attack hastily advanced to their support. Knights were dubbed by Philip and his commanders in as great numbers as so critical a time would allow, the lord of Hainault, an admirable agent for such a business, having with his own hand conferred the honour on fourteen individuals, who had scarcely congratulated each other on their elevation when the cause of the tumult was ascertained, which brought on them from that time forth the distinguishing title of "knights of the hare."³

The debate of the lords of Philip's council had not ended, when a messenger arrived from Robert, king of Sicily, a crack-brained enthusiast, who called himself an astrologer, bringing letters stating that he had cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had discovered, by the influence of the stars, that if Philip fought against his rival in person he would be defeated.⁴ This precious intelligence concluded the debate; the lords could not think of fighting, and the chief cause of their anxiety now was to remove their army from the vicinity of the king of England as quickly as possible; and the king of France having thanked the leaders for having come so well equipped to his assistance, they took their departure in such haste that crowding upon some marshy ground, on a rumour that they were pursued, they sunk into the treacherous soil to the amount of a

¹ FROISSART, chap. xlii. GRAFTON, vol. i. p. 345.

² DU CHESNE, p. 649.

³ FROISSART, chap. xlii.

⁴ *IBID.*

1000 horsemen.¹ Some writers have endeavoured to excuse this inglorious retreat of Philip de Valois,² and others have ventured to misrepresent the facts so as to make Edward the retiring party.³ Of the labours of the first it is only necessary to observe that they throw the blame upon his chief councillors; the latter are refuted by every action of the king of England when taking the field against his rival.

Edward and his allies finding there was no enemy to fight, and the weather becoming very severe, broke up their camp; the several captains returning with their men to their own country, and their leader marching his own forces back to winter quarters in Antwerp. The king wrote to his son⁴ from Brussels on the 1st November, stating the manner in which the campaign had concluded, and then busied himself with arrangements for commencing another.

¹ WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 128; KNIGHTON, 2575.

² JAMES, *Hist. of Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 125.

³ Among these are the compilers of the *Chronicles of France*. The continuator of William of Nangis, and M. Dacier, in his notes to FROISSART.

⁴ ROBERTUS DE AVEBURY, p. 46.

CHAPTER V.

The results of Edward's first Campaign in his War with France—His Connexion with von Artevelde and the Flemings—Adopts the Title of King of France—Fights the combined French, Spanish, and Genoese Navies near Sluys—Gains a decisive Victory—Meeting of the Confederates at Villevorde—Edward takes the Field at the head of a powerful Army—Besieges Tournay—His Challenge to Philip de Valois—March of the King of France to raise the Siege of Tournay—Truce between the two Kings—Advantages of the second Campaign—The King returns to England—Punishes his Councillors for Neglect—The Archbishop of Canterbury attempts to hold himself above the King's Authority—He is obliged to humble himself—Is again taken into Favour—Truce with France prolonged—David the Bruce invades England with a powerful Army—Atrocities committed by his Followers at Durham—They retreat as Edward marches against them—The Countess of Salisbury and the King of England—He decides the Dispute of Charles de Blois and the Count de Montford respecting the Dukedom of Brittany—The Count performs Homage to the King of England—Edward engages to assist him—He is thrown into Prison by the French King—Heroic Conduct of the Countess de Montford—Death of Robert d'Artois—Edward leads an Army to the assistance of the Countess—His Successes in Brittany—Besieges Vannes—Approach of the Dauphin with superior Forces—Pope Clement VI.—His exertions to produce a Peace—Convention entered into between the rival Kings—Results of the Third Campaign—The King on his Voyage to England overtaken by a dreadful Storm—The Negotiations at Avignon—Treachery of Philip de Valois.

THE king of England's first campaign of his long projected war with Philip de Valois to maintain his claim to the throne of France, being over, each party in the quarrel had leisure to consider the offensive and defensive resources of the other, and his ability to make the best uses of them. Whatever may have been Philip's opinion of his rival, the attitude the latter had maintained could not have failed to impress him with a greatly increased consideration for his military capacity; and the complaints which came pouring in from the districts his troops had devastated convinced him that he wanted neither the means nor the will to make himself a formidable enemy. Edward's successes, however, brought with them no important advantages. He had passed triumphantly over a large portion of

his rival's territories, it is true; but when, on his return to winter quarters, he had leisure to reflect on his position, he found the only results of this invasion were an empty exchequer, a heavy amount of debt,¹ allies indifferent to his cause, unless the most extravagant bribes excited their zeal,² and his kingdom suffering greatly from his protracted absence.³ The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to learn, that before the year had concluded, commissioners from both kings were very busy arranging terms of peace.⁴ Perhaps the pontiff's representations may have contributed to this change of sentiment, for after the campaign, his holiness had repeated his endeavours to bring about an accommodation.⁵

Whatever may have been their negotiations, both kings used every exertion to put themselves in as formidable an attitude as possible. During the Christmas, Edward entertained his friends very sumptuously at Antwerp, where he commanded the presence of his youthful son the duke of Cornwall,⁶ who, though but ten years of age, had already become an object of the highest political interest, not only in his native country, but in the principal continental states. He also summoned a great parliament of his confederates to meet at Brussels for the despatch of urgent business, amongst whom came von Artevelde, the celebrated

¹ When the king sent the archbishop of Canterbury, his old friend and tutor, Richard of Bury, now bishop of Durham, and Michael de la Pole, as messengers to England to obtain assistance from parliament, they stated that he was 300,000*l.* in debt, *ROT. PARL.* 13, *EDW. III.* pars 1, n. 4.

² The Duke of Brabant alone received a gratuity of 60,000*l.* *RYMERI Fædera*, vol. ii. part 3, dated July 1, 1337.

³ Foreign pirates infested the coast, and the Scottish partisans of David the Bruce were rapidly gaining the ascendancy.

⁴ *ASHMOLE*, p. 650.

⁵ To Benedict's exhortations for peace and a lecture for retaining a hostile attitude, Edward, whilst expressing his willingness to entertain reasonable conditions, excuses his hostility by complaining that Philip de Valois not only took from him the kingdom that had lawfully devolved upon him, but had seized his duchy of Aquitaine, invaded his kingdom of England with the fleet he had collected on the pretence of proceeding to the Holy Land, and had excited the Scots to rebel against him.—*WALSINGHAM, Hist.*, p. 129.

⁶ One of the causes for which the young duke's presence was required was a projected marriage with Margaret, daughter of the duke of Brabant.

brewer of metheglin, who had such an extraordinary authority over his countrymen, the Flemings, that to a man they would do his bidding, however extravagant it might be. As it was exceedingly desirable that Edward should have the support of the warlike people of Flanders, he lost no opportunity of striving to attach their leader to his person. He completely succeeded, but the Flemings excused themselves from taking an active part in the king of England's quarrel, though they were well inclined towards it, saying they were bound in a penalty of two millions of gold florins not to make war upon the king of France. Of such an obstacle, however, they proposed a way of getting rid, which was by the king of England taking upon himself the style and arms of the king of France. This plan, after a consultation with his principal allies, Edward adopted—in all public documents and coins styling himself king of England and France, and quartering the arms of France with those of England, with the motto, then first adopted, of "*Dieu et mon Droit*:" and wrote a long letter to the pope, defending what he had done. This, however, did not prevent Benedict from hurling the thunders of the church against the Flemings for acting in opposition to a monarch in such favour with the holy see as the king of France.¹ Before the terrible interdict had arrived in Flanders Edward had sailed for England, where he now obtained such handsome assistance from his loving subjects as once more to place him in a condition for carrying out his gigantic projects.

Whilst making arrangements for recommencing the war, Edward learned that Philip having rashly violated the territories of the young count of Hainault, the latter had become so incensed as readily to join his uncle, John de Beaumont, and other of the confederates, in an invasion of France, in which they did considerable mischief. This intelligence made him hasten his movements. After settling his affairs at

¹ Benedict would have acted in a similar manner towards England, which he had threatened, but he wisely forbore.

home he collected a fleet on the coast of Suffolk, with which he sailed from the port of Orwell on the 22d of June, 1340, but not before he had received warning from his brother-in-law Reginald, duke of Gueldres,¹ that his enemy was making extraordinary preparations to interrupt his passage. Nevertheless he undauntedly stood out to sea with a fleet of 260 ships, quite as ready to meet those who were believed to be lying in wait for him as they were to interrupt his voyage. The next day,² about three o'clock, as he approached the coast of Flanders, near Blankenberg, he discovered—arrayed so as to dispute his passage—an armament so formidable, that the numerous masts gave it the appearance of an immense forest. The king having demanded of the master of his ship what he thought of these strangers, was told they were the French, Spanish, and Genoese fleet, under the command of three of the most distinguished admirals of the age, Bocca Negra, the Black Beard of the fourteenth century; Sir Hugh Quieret, an officer of the highest courage and ability; and Sir Peter Behuchet, who, besides being the most distinguished admiral in the French navy, held the responsible office of treasurer of France—that their object was to take the king dead or alive; and that there was little doubt amongst the ships might be found the St. Edward and the St. Christopher, two of Edward's vessels, which had been taken the preceding year by these commanders, whose atrocities on the English coast were fresh in the memory of every one of Edward's gallant associates.

This was quite sufficient to determine the fearless monarch to make an attack; yet he was ill prepared for an encounter with such a superior force. On board his ships were numerous ladies who were going to join the queen; and these ships were, in many respects, ill adapted for much severe service as vessels of war.

¹ WALSLINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 134. STOW, p. 237. The French had been cruising on the coast, and the king's two ablest admirals, Lord Morley and Sir John Crabbe, were very active in assembling a fleet to give them battle. The former was sent with a division of this armament called the northern fleet, in pursuit of them.

² KNIGHTON, 2577.

Under these circumstances Edward wisely sent the lord Reginald Cobham, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Stephen de la Burkin, to observe the appearance and strength of the enemy from the land side.¹ This they did without any accident, and reported that within the harbour of Sluys were nearly 400 sail at anchor; that there were amongst them nineteen ships of a size, of which so many had never been seen together,² and that in one they recognised the lost St. Christopher. Edward then made all his ships come to an anchor, and took care that every man in the fleet should retire to rest early, so as to be ready for the contest on the ensuing morning.

The next day being the feast of St. John the Baptist,³ the French fleet was observed in the haven of Sluys formed in three divisions. Edward prepared to make an attack. Having secured the safety of the ladies, he placed his largest vessels, well furnished with archers, in the van, and to each ship carrying men-at-arms provided one at each side, well supplied with archers.⁴ He manœuvred to obtain a favourable position, and then, about mid-day, with the royal banner of England floating over his vessel, followed by the rest of his force, bore down upon the enemy. They appear to have been taken by surprise by the spirited tactics of their able adversary; for, notwithstanding the fame of their admirals, their experienced crews, their more formidable ships, and their other great advantages, the English soon began to shew that superiority at sea they have since maintained in so many hard-fought battles. As on land, the chief dependence of the commanders was on the archers, who plied their arrows so fiercely, that the Genoese cross-bowmen, opposed to them, were brought down by thousands; and notwithstanding the Spanish ships were so much higher out of the water, the English

¹ KNIGHTON, 2577.

² The united fleet consisted of Spanish, Genoese, and Norman ships of which 120 were large vessels, carrying 40,000 Genoese and Picards. FROISSART, chap. l.

³ STOW, p. 237. KNIGHTON, 2578.

⁴ FROISSART, chap. l.

sailed boldly up and grappled them, and tried to carry them by boarding; they presently came to hard blows with pikes, pole-axes, and swords, and some threw stones from the tops of the ships, wherewith many were brained.¹

The captured Christopher had been placed by the French in a conspicuous situation, and sailed with the largest ships, having on board of her trumpets and other warlike instruments that made a prodigious noise; but this bravado was soon silenced. She was, as may readily be imagined, one of the first vessels of the enemy attacked. After a sharp contest she became once more the property of the king of England, and having been manned with a fresh crew, was despatched against the Genoese.² Edward was actively engaged in encouraging his followers, and proved himself as skillful an admiral as he had on other occasions shewn himself an able general. The admiral Bocca Negra, or Barbenoir, as he is called by Froissart, despatched four galleys against an English ship a little detached from the rest of Edward's fleet, styled the Rich Oliver, that coming up and grappling with her, assailed her so vigorously with heavy stones and other missiles, she would have been taken had not assistance arrived that made the galleys look to their own defence. Their crews fought well, but could not withstand the fierce assault of their enemies, and all the four galleys became the prizes of the English.³ Amid the tumultuous cheering and the encouraging war-cries of the combatants, with the shrill clang of the trumpets, the fight continued; each ship having large grappnels and iron hooks with chains, fastened upon an antagonist, and on their decks there presently ensued a most terrible hand-to-hand conflict. The battle raged with intense fury, ship after ship of the enemy changed masters; and their first division being overpowered, the second was attacked with the same fierceness and mastered with the same ease; multitudes of their crews in their fright leaping

¹ STOW, p. 237.

² FROISSART, chap. 1.

³ FABIAN, p. 211.

overboard.¹ The victory was secured by the timely arrival of Lord Morley with part of the northern fleet and some succour from Bruges.² The terrible conflict ceased only when night set in; and in its convenient shadows twenty-four ships belonging to the hostile squadron, with 5000 men on board, commanded by Bocca Negra, endeavoured to make their escape.³ They were, however, chased by Sir John Crabb, one of Edward's most distinguished naval captains, who succeeded in taking several and in sinking others.⁴ A large Norman ship, the *James of Dieppe*, had been so fortunate to capture one English vessel of inferior force; but as she sailed away with her prize, the English crew rose against the Frenchmen, and after a most sanguinary contest, brought both ships the next day into the English fleet.⁵

The results of this decisive victory were of the most brilliant kind. Of the 190 large ships in the enemy's fleet, 166 were captured or sunk, and out of 35,000 men, not 5000 escaped. Among the prisoners were the admirals Behuchet and Quieret. The latter is called by Froissart Sir Hugh Quiriell, and by the same author, he and his companions are stated to have been bold and determined men, who had done much mischief to the English at sea, and destroyed many of their ships;⁶ but he and his brother commanders had committed so many atrocities upon such Englishmen as had the misfortune to fall into their hands, as in the worst state of barbarism would have found no defenders. In the engagement in which the *Christopher* and

¹ The French ships were chained together in such sort that they could not be separated one from another."—Stow, p. 237.

² BARNES, p. 183.

³ RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. ii. part iv.

⁴ KNIGHTON, 2578.

⁵ ADAM MUREMUTH. "A great ship, called the *James of Dieppe*, thinking to have carried away a certain ship of Sandwich belonging to the prior of Canterbury, was stayed; for the sailors so stoutly defended themselves by the help of the earl of Huntingdon, that they saved themselves, and their ship from the Frenchmen. The fight continued all the night, and in the morning, the Normans, being overcome and taken, there were found in the ship 400 men slain."—Stow, p. 237. This "great ship" must, by having so numerous a crew, have been very superior in size to the largest vessels in the English navy.

⁶ FROISSART, chap. i.

her consort had been taken, they mercilessly flung their wounded enemies into the sea.¹ At the sacking of Southampton, they committed the grossest outrages ever heard of,—hanging the principal inhabitants in their own houses, violating the women, slaying the unoffending poor people, and setting the whole town on fire;² and on the coast of Essex, Sussex, Kent, the isle of Wight, Cornwall, and Devonshire—wherever they could effect a landing—they indulged in similar atrocities.³ It is, therefore, not at all extraordinary that Edward, when he found these fellows in his power, should have treated them with little ceremony. The French historians accuse him of causing Quieret to be slain in cold blood after the battle, and that he hanged Behuchet at the mast of his own vessel, but nothing of the kind exists in any of the English writers,⁴ except Fabian, who copied from the French; and Froissart is equally silent. If Edward acted in this manner towards his prisoners, it can only be said they richly deserved it; but the statement wants confirmation.

The loss on the side of the English was about 4000 men,⁵ which shews that the victory was not won without a determined resistance on the part of the French and their allies. Froissart says that the battle was very murderous and horrible,⁶ and another French author states that it lasted nine hours.⁷ Quieret, Behuchet, and Bocca Negra, had sworn to take the king of England dead or alive, and the English fought with unexampled fury to avenge their slaughtered countrymen at Southampton. No quarter was given on either side; in short, it was one of the most sanguinary and well-contested sea-fights on record. Ed-

¹ FABIAN, p. 206. HOLINSHED, p. 204.

² STOW, p. 235. HOLINSHED, p. 904. KNIGHTON, 2573.

³ STOW, p. 235. KNIGHTON, 2573.

⁴ KNIGHTON (2578) says that Quieret and Behuchet were killed during the engagement. Fabian's account of the battle (*Chronicles of England and France*, p. 450) is not a little apocryphal; for he speaks of "gunneshot," and "hayleshot," and of the "hydous and fereful dynne and noyse of gunnys."

⁵ STOW, p. 237.

⁶ FROISSART, chap. 1.

⁷ DU CHESNE, l. xv. p. 651.

ward greatly distinguished himself during the engagement, and he was bravely seconded by his commanders, every one of whom were wounded, and Sir Thomas Monthermer, eldest son of the lord Ralph Monthermer, and others of less note, killed.¹ Among the ships recovered, besides the Christopher, were the St. George, the St. Edward, and the Black Cock,² which had been previously captured by the French. A large ship belonging to the king of France, called the St. Denis, was one of the numerous prizes which fell into the hands of the victors. Thus at a blow the king of England annihilated the naval power of France, and taught the Genoese and Spaniards such a lesson as made them, for a long time, carefully avoid any further instruction of the same nature. These results were of the more importance from the publicity given to them; for, during the contest, the men of Bruges, who were Edward's allies, lined the coast arrayed in order of battle, and were spectators of the indomitable courage of their English friends, which created a very powerful impression in their favour. They gave what assistance they could to the conquerors, cutting off all who attempted to escape by getting on shore.³

Edward remained on board during the night, but his victorious fleet kept up such a joyous flourish with their musical instruments, that, had they not had other intelligence, it was impossible for their friends not to have been aware of the result of the contest.⁴ On the morning some of the principal men of Flanders

¹ BARNES, p. 183. Among those who most conspicuously exhibited their prowess on this occasion were the earls of Warwick, Derby, Pembroke, Huntingdon, Gloucester, Hereford, Northampton, and Richmond; lords Roger Northwode, Reginald Cobham, Henry Percy, John de la Ware, Lucy Multon, and Ralph Basset; sirs John Beauchamp, John Chandos, William Felton, Walter Manny, Henry of Flanders, and Stephen de la Burkin, and Nele Loring, an esquire whose valour was rewarded after the battle with the honour of knighthood from the hands of the king of England, and a grant of 20*l.* per annum.—FROISSART, chap. l. ASHMOLFE, p. 700.

² Stow, p. 237.

³ BARNES, p. 182. FROISSART, chap. l.

⁴ FROISSART, chap. l. A French MS. chronicle, cited by TYRRELL (vol. iii. p. 424), states that Philippa, on the news of her husband's victory, left Ghent, and came to him at Sluys, returning to Ghent, after what

ascended the king's ship to congratulate him on his extraordinary success; and after learning from them the state of things in their country, particularly inquiring after Jacob von Artevelde, who had marched at the head of 60,000 Flemings to assist the earl of Hainault against the duke of Normandy, then besieging Thun l'Evêque, he dismissed them very graciously, and shortly afterwards landed with all his force, the inhabitants receiving him with every demonstration of honour and respect.¹ He attended grand mass with all his captains in the principal church at Sluys, where he publicly returned thanks for so glorious a victory, and two days afterwards further exhibited his gratitude and devotion, by proceeding on a pilgrimage on foot, attended by a crowd of his gallant associates, to the shrine of "Our Lady of Ardembourg," a town of considerable importance at this time, about a league distant from Sluys.² He directed a circular letter to be sent to the clergy of England, apprising them of the glorious victory, and commanding them to return public thanks for such a signal mark of Divine favour.³

This communication was enclosed in another to his son, which gave a modest account of the battle, and breathes a spirit very different from that which animates the bulletins of the great conqueror of our own days.⁴ Edward stayed in the neighbourhood of Sluys to complete his pilgrimage, when, having attended mass and dined, he leaped on his horse and rode to Ghent, where he had the satisfaction of acquainting his amiable queen with his triumph, and of beholding her and her new-born infant, to whom she had given

would have been under the circumstances a most gratifying interview, but as she happened to be confined of her fourth son, John of Gaunt, on the very day of the battle, the statement is, of course, erroneous.

¹ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, pp. 54-9. WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 148. RYMER, vol. v. p. 195.

² FROISSART, chap. 1.

³ FOX, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 494, edit. 1641.

⁴ This letter is printed with the Chronicle of London, and is preserved among the MSS. in the city archives, whence Mr. James transferred it to the appendix of the first volume of his *History of the Black Prince*.

birth on the day he was no less perilously engaged with his enemies. The child was christened John, and from the place of his birth was always known by the name of "John of Gaunt." He played a conspicuous part in the history of his country, and his career may be traced through the present and the two following lives of the princes of Wales. Whilst at Ghent the king wrote to the earl of Hainault and his associates at Thun l'Evêque, to apprise them of his safe arrival and his marvellous victory; rumours of which had preceded his messengers, to the exceeding gratification of the Flemish lords. But to no one did it appear to give such intense gratification as to von Artevelde. A hero himself, and in other respects a man of extraordinary genius, he could, to a much greater extent than his associates, appreciate the heroism and the remarkable talents of his illustrious ally, and this made the brewer of Ghent regard him with enthusiastic admiration, and attach himself to his cause with a zeal that ended only with his life. Neither the merit, nor the devotion of his humble friend, was overlooked by Edward, whose personal esteem his many noble qualities had firmly secured. He possessed to a wonderful extent the gift of eloquence, which, on more than one occasion, but particularly just after receiving the news of the battle of Sluys, he exercised among his countrymen in advocating the claims of the king of England to the crown of France, and by announcing the advantages which must accrue to his allies by affording him assistance to establish it.¹ His oratory created a warmer feeling in his Flemish friends towards Edward, and they agreed to wait upon him at Ghent in a body to hear his views. It is scarcely necessary to say that on doing so, they were nobly entertained, and by general consent a parliament of the confederates was appointed to be held at Villevorde. The king still further ingratiated himself with the Flemings, for he

¹ FROISSART, chap. 1. Lord Berners, translating this passage, conveys a very striking picture of this distinguished man addressing his associates after their arrival at Valenciennes, to which place they had proceeded from Thun l'Evêque.

had brought over with him a considerable number of priests, who performed for them the ceremonies of religion, which they had been denied ever since Benedict XII. had thought proper to sentence them to the pains and penalties of excommunication.

The conference of Villevorde was attended by all the great nobles¹ and three or four burgesses from each of the principal towns in Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant. Amongst them the counsels of von Artevelde had great influence, and his presiding genius evidently dictated the union of the noble and the burgher for one common object, which this meeting established. Under his auspices the three powerful provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, entered into a treaty to afford each other prompt assistance in any emergency; providing that if two of them should quarrel, the third should arrange whatever matter might be in dispute between them, and if it should not be sufficiently powerful to effect this object, the affair should be laid before the king of England, and governed by his decision. Oaths were taken to make this covenant as binding as possible, and coins were struck to commemorate it, which should be current in the three countries. It was also decided that two complete armies should be raised, of which one was to be composed of the men of Ghent and Bruges, with other Flemings and a certain proportion of English archers, in all amounting to 55,000 men; to be under the command of Robert d'Artois, and to be directed against St. Omer; and the other was to consist of the rest of the allies, with the English army, led by the king of England in person, and to march against Tournay, the siege of which was to commence about the middle of the following month. Having made these arrangements the assembly broke up, each

¹ Besides Edward and his principal nobles there were present the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the marquises of Juliers, Nuys, and Blankeberg; the earls of Hainault, Mons, and Namur, the lords of Valkenberg, Fauquemont, and William de Dumort, Sir John de Beaumont, Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond, Jacob von Artevelde, and many others of less note. *FROISSART*, chap. lii.

lord hastening to collect his men and get them in a state for taking the field.

As soon as the proper arrangements could be made, Edward began his march from Ghent, having with him a gallant English army comprised of seven earls, eight prelates, twenty-eight barons, 200 knights, 4000 men-at-arms, 9000 mounted archers, and a due proportion of infantry.¹ He was accompanied by several of the lords of the empire with their followers, and in the display of banners, the imperial eagle floated conspicuously amongst the English lions and the cross of St. George.² He lost no time in crossing the Scheldt, and encamped before Tournay, near the gate of St. Martin, where he was shortly afterwards joined by the duke of Brabant with 20,000 men, the earl of Hainault with his fine cavalry, von Artevelde with 40,000 Flemings, and by the forces of the other confederates, who presently beleaguered the city on every side.

Before hostilities commenced, Edward thought fit to send a defiance to his rival.³

In some copies the date concludes with "l'an de nostre règne de France primer, et d'Angleterre quatorze."

The battle of Sluys had been a tremendous blow to Philip de Valois;⁴ nevertheless he omitted nothing which might repair the loss he had sustained by it. He, however, shewed no inclination to accept the challenge of his rival, to whom he replied, after some indignant comments on the claim he advanced, with a threat to drive him out of his kingdom, to his own and his kingdom's honour and the profit of his people; and with a firm hope in Jesus Christ, from whom he

¹ FROISSART, chap. liii.

² SPEED, p. 573.

³ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, cap. xxxi.

⁴ When the intelligence of this defeat reached the French court, no one could be found willing to make it known to the king. A channel of communication was at last obtained in the person of the royal jester, who, running carelessly into Philip's presence, began loudly to stigmatise the conduct of the English, and being asked by his patron why he did so, exclaimed that they must needs be faint-hearted knaves, for they had not the courage to leap into the sea like the gallant Normans.—WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 134.

obtained his puissance.¹ After despatching the herald who brought the king of England's defiance with this answer, he busied himself in collecting his resources for the purpose of advancing with them to raise the siege of Tournay. While he was thus employed, Edward was putting forth all his military talent to obtain possession of this important post, but it was both well guarded and well victualled, and although Jacob von Artevelde and others greatly distinguished themselves while their army remained before Tournay, no decided advantage was obtained.

Many excursions were made during the siege by different detachments of the confederates into the enemy's territories, sometimes with marked success, and at others with a very different result—particularly in an attack on St. Omer by a division under Robert d'Artois, which met with a signal defeat.

The siege had endured eleven weeks when, while famine was busy within its walls, the French king with a powerful army marched to the assistance of the garrison, and took up a position so close to the besiegers that skirmishes frequently took place between detached parties of the two armies; but again there was no battle. Philip had more confidence in diplomacy than in the sword, and managed, through that unstable character the duke of Brabant, to gain friends amongst the confederates, whilst by some secret means he took care that the besieged should obtain the supplies they so much needed. At this time the most zealous endeavours were made to bring about a peace between the contending sovereigns; not only did the pope employ himself in this good work,² but Joan of Valois, dowager countess of Hainault,³ a near

¹ "Nostre entente si est quant bon nous sembler a de voz getter hors de nostre roialme, al honure de nous, et de nostre roialme, et en profit de nostre people, et a ceo faire avoms ferme esperance en Jhesu Christ, dount tout puissance nous vient"—ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, cap. xxxii.

² The pontiff's views were ably seconded by an Englishman, one of his chaplains, William Norwich, dean of Lincoln, who played a prominent part in the negotiations.—ODORIC. RAINALD. ad. an. 1340.—BARNES, p. 203.

³ FROISSART, chap. lxiii.

relative of both, and the king of Sicily¹—whose knowledge of the stars had, on a recent occasion, secured the safety of one—were exceedingly solicitous to effect the same object. Edward finding his allies getting very lukewarm, except von Artevelde, who opposed pacific measures,² and having learned that England had been invaded by the Scots, and his dominions in Aquitaine had been almost entirely conquered by the French, whilst notwithstanding all his exertions Tournay held out, and might do so for an indefinite period, reluctantly responded to the overtures of peace, and agreed to a truce for nine months.³ Immediately the treaty was signed, the lords of the empire took their departure; the duke of Brabant being the first to abandon the standard of his ally. By the provisions of the treaty the earl of Flanders returned to his province, and on his paying a visit of ceremony to the king of England, the latter entertained him with his usual magnificence.⁴ Edward returned to Ghent.

Thus ended the king of England's second campaign against his rival. It was much more satisfactory than the first:—the brilliant victory at Sluys, and the occupation for nearly two months of a portion of the enemy's territories, were far from discouraging circumstances to Edward; but he soon found that they weighed but little in the scale against the liabilities he had incurred. Still his active spirit would not be discouraged. With the poor estimate he by this time possessed for all his allies, except Jacob von Artevelde, —whose valour and zeal in his service did not pass unregarded by him—he had not long returned to Ghent when he again began to put forth the energies of his powerful mind, to promote the grand object he steadily kept in view.⁵ Money more than ever seemed the one thing needful, and finding that his urgent

¹ FROISSART, chap. li.

² FABIAN, p. 453.

³ KNIGHTON, 2578.—DU CHESNE, p. 263.

⁴ HOLINSHED, *Eng. Chron.* p. 912.

⁵ In November he wrote a powerful letter to the pope, in support of his claim to the throne of France, and denounced the conduct of the archbishop of Canterbury.—BARNES, p. 207.

requests for assistance from home were unsatisfactorily attended to, and having received intelligence that matters there were getting into a deplorable state; with his customary decision, accompanied by his queen, and a few attendants, he suddenly set off from Flanders, and very unexpectedly to his subjects and those whom he had left to govern them, he arrived at the Tower of London about two o'clock in the morning.¹ Here he discovered evidence of the grossest neglect in his officers—this important fortress having been left without a guard; no one being there on his arrival but his children and a few domestics.² The king was slow neither to punish nor reward where decision became absolutely necessary, and before any of the offenders knew of his being in England, they found themselves securely lodged in prison.³ Edward was incensed at their remissness in not having levied and sent over the funds he required, for the want of which he had been forced to raise the siege of Tournay, and for the general neglect of their duty, which was but too palpable. The archbishop of Canterbury was the only one who got notice of the king's indignation, and he wisely kept out of the way; but his coadjutors were not so fortunate, for they were dismissed from office and thrown into prison. The prelate did not seem to have any friends at court, and by their representations Edward conceived he had been in traitorous commu-

¹ He experienced such stormy weather, that some chroniclers (*GRAF-TON*, vol. i. p. 351; *FABIAN*, p. 454) have ventured to accuse French wizards of raising the tempest to destroy him; but, equally marvellous, he invariably met with unfavourable winds from the Continent, whilst when crossing from England nothing could be more propitious; and this, in the opinion of some historians, denoted that Heaven was against his returning till the conquest of France had been effected.

² *WALSINGHAM*, *Hist.* p. 155. *RYMERI Fædera*, vol. v. p. 216.

³ Among the parties who felt the king's indignation, were the constable of the Tower (Nicholas de la Beche), the mayor of London (Andrew Aubry), Sir John Poultney, an alderman, the keeper of the great seal (Sir John S. Paul), the lord chief justice of the King's Bench (Sir John Stonor), Sir William Shareshall, one of the justices of the King's Bench, Sir Richard Willoughby, deputy lord chief justice, Sir William de la Pole, a baron of the Exchequer, the lord-chancellor of England (the bishop of Chichester), the lord treasurer (the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield), and the lord John Molines.—*HOLINSHED, Eng. Chron.* p. 912.

nication with France,¹ and had wilfully retarded the supplies. The archbishop took himself off to Canterbury, where he made much unseemly stir by public discussing his own loyalty, and complaining of the conduct of his sovereign in communications to the highest officer of the state of a threatening character.² Letters were exchanged, in which the king condemned the archbishop, and the archbishop quite as freely censured his monarch. John Strafford was the Wolsey of his age, with fifty times his arrogance. Had there been a Henry the Eighth instead of an Edward the Third to deal with him, the unseemly contest would have been very summarily concluded. His malpractices seemed pretty clearly established, notwithstanding his laboured defence in his specious letters, and Edward was not a man to be intimidated from doing justice to an offender by the fear of ecclesiastical censure this artful priest endeavoured to excite in his mind. Most probably, the archbishop had been induced by the head of the Christian church to attempt that neglect of his duty which had forced Edward to agree to a peace with his rival; and fancied he was too important a personage to be meddled with if his misconduct should be discovered. The king was not to be moved by his insolence to forget the forms of justice. He commanded him to refrain from writing or publishing any impertinent remarks and denunciations prejudicial to the royal authority, and summoned a parliament to meet on the 9th of April, 1341.³ Although no writ had been sent to him, he thought proper to attend, yet entered London secretly, as if he began to doubt the issue of the struggle he had commenced of the ecclesiastical with the royal authority. On attempting to enter the house to take his seat, he was met by the king's steward and chamberlain, who, in the king's name, forbade his admission, until he had taken his trial in the exchequer concerning certain crimes laid to his charge.⁴ He turned back and procured a copy of the articles of

¹ BARNES, p. 213.

² *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. pp. 21-42.

³ ROT. PARL. p. 40. SIR ROBERT COTTON'S *Abridgment*, p. 31.

⁴ *Antiq. Brit.* p. 235, n. 56.

accusation, and ultimately took his place in parliament, which he addressed in his defence, concluding with a prayer to be tried by his peers. The parliament debated on his case for several days. At last, a select committee, as it would be called at the present day, were appointed to inquire into his crimes.

Scarcely had these arrangements been made when the prelate again made his appearance at the door of the house, but he was stopped by the captain of the king's guard. He then tried to force his way in by clamour, but the king was too popular with his subjects for even so high a dignitary of the church to create a prejudice against him, and he found himself at last obliged to entreat the favour of some lords who were passing to intercede for him with his offended monarch. Edward, who knew when to be firm and when to yield, allowed him to take his seat in parliament, where he offered to prove his innocence of the crimes imputed to him, but was referred to the twelve peers to whom his cause had been intrusted. The archbishop, finding how completely he had miscalculated his strength, was now as yielding as he had before been contumacious; and on the 19th of the same month, when Edward sat enthroned in the painted chamber in the presence of his parliament, the once haughty prelate humbled himself to ask the royal pardon, which, with his customary liberality, the king readily granted.¹ The archbishop then craved to be tried by his peers, but Edward, who appears to have thought that the minister had been sufficiently punished, answered, there were matters of greater importance to the state that first called for his attention. Shortly afterwards Edward again took him into favour, and allowed the accusations against him to be abandoned. That the conduct of the archbishop had been criminal in his management of the affairs intrusted to his charge, there can scarcely be a doubt, and that the blustering manner in which he treated his sovereign when this was discovered deserved dis-

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, p. 39.

grace is equally evident ; but his abilities as a statesman were of a superior order, and Edward, in the leniency he shewed to such an offender, was most probably influenced by a hope that the archbishop had been taught a lesson which he could scarcely fail of remembering with profit, and that his interfering to save him from the ruin he had brought upon himself would, for the future, secure the most zealous discharge of any service he could render.

Edward of Windsor had soon other business on his hands that required the assistance of a trusty counsellor ; for, doubtless, to his surprise, he received a letter from Louis of Bavaria¹—for allying himself with whom he had dared to brave the thunders of the church—revoking his letters patent making Edward vicar-general of the empire, announcing that he had entered into a strict friendship with Philip de Valois, and offering to employ his influence with that monarch to procure a truce between him and Edward for a year or two more. Whatever might have been Edward's opinion of the emperor's disposition, or of the policy of the king of France in drawing so powerful a prince from the confederacy which supported his claims on the French crown, he saw how useless it was quarrelling about such a desertion, and courteously replied to the emperor, granting a truce for two years.² This measure was a very prudent one, and perhaps no one was better acquainted with its wisdom than Edward. He saw that the country had been drained of its supplies to satisfy the wants of his two campaigns in France, and that some repose was necessary to enable it to supply all deficiencies ; he saw also that the state of Scotland, through the intrigues of Philip de Valois, required his most earnest attention. Young David the Bruce had returned there. He was now of age, and was so strong in partisans as to threaten a speedy invasion of England. Edward made preparations to repel his

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 146. The true cause of the defection of Louis was the stoppage from want of funds of the liberal subsidies with which Edward had obtained his co-operation.

² BARNES, p. 258.

unruly neighbours, who had collected a force of 60,000 foot and 3000 horse, made up of Scots, French, Danes, and Norwegians.¹ He summoned his barons to be in readiness with all their followers on the 24th of January, 1342, at Newcastle; but before he could form his army, David the Bruce had crossed the borders, taken the city of Durham and committed the usual barbarities of a Scottish invasion,² but as soon as he ascertained the king of England to be in a position to punish him, he retreated with his army more rapidly than he had advanced.³ Edward was not slow in following upon his footsteps, being quickened by intelligence that the Scots were laying siege to the castle of Werke, in Northumberland, which was defended for the king of England by a garrison under the command of Sir William Montague, in the absence of the governor, the earl of Salisbury, who was a prisoner in France; but when the king arrived before the castle, every trace of the Scottish monarch and his powerful army had vanished.

In the castle of Werke resided the countess of Salisbury, who had exhibited during the siege a spirit worthy of these days of chivalry,⁴ and her manners and appearance are represented to have been so fascinating that the king grew desperately enamoured of her almost as soon as he had entered into her company. The well-known story of king Edward and the countess has been doubted, because the latter had at the period at which the king's gallantry made itself so manifest, a son thirteen years old. This fact however, is far from being conclusive against the addresses of Edward, then not thirty years of age; and the narrative of Froissart, especially in the words

¹ FROISSART, chap. lxxiv.

² LORD BERNERS thus describes the doings of David and his cut-throats: "The city was won by force, and robbed and clene brent [burned], and all maner of peple put to deth without mercy, men, women, and chyldren, monks, preestes, and chanons, so that ther abode alyve no maner of person, house, or church, but it was destroyed; the which was great pytte so to destroy Christen blode, and the churches of God, wherein that God was honoured and served."

³ FROISSART, chap. lxxv.

⁴ Ibid.

of Lord Berners, affords too characteristic a picture of social manners in these piping times, to be too hastily dismissed. She is represented rejecting the advances of the enamoured monarch in a way that does her great honour.¹

Edward, finding his gallantry unprofitable, and, it is to be hoped, not a little ashamed of his folly, left the castle of the virtuous countess, and, with all his host, proceeded in chase of the fugitive Scots, who were concealed in the impenetrable forest of Jedburgh; but, as he could not bring them to action, and the position of affairs on the continent seemed to require his immediate attention, he listened to the attempts of mutual friends to bring about an arrangement between him and David the Bruce, and agreed to a truce between the two countries. He hastily returned to England.

The aspect of affairs abroad was certainly one that required a careful observation by a person circumstanced as he was. The duke of Brittany, who in the last campaign had marched to the assistance of Philip de Valois with a powerful force, had, on his return to his own country, died at Caen in Normandy, on the last day of April, 1341, leaving his duchy to be contested by his

¹ Mr. JAMES, *History of Edward the Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 201, follows BARNES in seeming to doubt this story, because the lady was the kyng's senior; but the disparity of years was inconsiderable, and so far from the countess being "on the sear," as is assumed, she was in the very prime of life, being but little more than thirty, and every account represents her as a remarkably handsome woman. His suggestion that Jane Plantagenet, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, who was in the castle at the time, was the object of the king's passion, is infinitely more unreasonable, this lady being at the period scarcely thirteen years of age, and the conduct attributed to the countess is that of a matron and not of a child. The subject has been a favourite with poets and novelists; it forms one of DRAYTON's *England's Heroical Epistles*,—who, however, falls into the curious blunder of making the lovers the Fair Maid of Kent and the Black Prince, who were children at the time—and may be found duly set forth in a work entitled, *Rationis et appetitus Pugna, hoc est de Amore Edvardi III. Regis Angliæ et Elipsiæ Comitissæ Salisbericensis Historia quam ad famæ fuvum adjecit Æschacius Major*. 12mo. *Halis Saxonum*, 1612. As some apology for the king, it is necessary to state that such adventures in his days were not considered extraordinary, and as scarcely criminal, and that he always greatly honoured and esteemed the earl of Salisbury, and secured his freedom almost immediately after the incident FROISSART has so graphically described.

brother, Peter, count de Montford, and his niece Joan, married to Charles de Blois. The count de Montford, by rapid and energetic measures, in which he was greatly assisted by his countess, a woman of extraordinary capacity and courage, succeeded in getting possession of the accumulated treasures of his deceased brother at Linnoges. This enabled him to establish a considerable military force, and to take the field against the party that had embraced the cause of his niece; and he obtained many important successes. But, although he had conquered the best portion of the disputed territory, he knew he held it by a very insecure tenure, for if his fair competitor appealed to Philip de Valois, or rather to the French court of peers, which she was likely to do, a verdict against him was almost certain to be the result—the president of the court being the uncle of Charles of Blois—and the whole power of France would be directed against him to enforce compliance with its decision; the count de Montford, therefore, sought with as little delay as possible to strengthen himself against the power of France, and there was but one state to which he could look for the assistance he required. The count hurried to Windsor, tendered his homage to Edward, and requested his support. It was readily promised, for the politic monarch saw, in an alliance with de Montford, a sure means of advancing his own views on the crown of France. He had had enough of the lords of the empire, and gladly entered into an engagement before a public assembly, to aid, defend, and preserve the count as his liege man, against any one, the king of France or any other, to the utmost of his power. After this, says the chronicler, the king and queen made such rich presents of jewels, and other gifts, to the earl, and to those who had come over with him, that they pronounced him a gallant king fit to reign many years in great prosperity.¹

Scarcely had he returned to his province when he received a summons from the king of France to answer the complaint of the lord Charles of Blois, before the

¹ FROISSART, chap. lxviii.

court of peers, which he at once obeyed. After his first interview with Philip de Valois, he was sufficiently satisfied that justice was not to be obtained from him, and secretly fled from Paris to his heroic countess at Nantes, where he endeavoured to make arrangements to withstand the powerful force which he expected would be sent after him to support the claims of Charles de Blois. In this he was not mistaken, for a considerable army shortly afterwards advanced upon Nantes, and the inhabitants not being to be depended on, he was forced to surrender to the duke of Normandy, the king's son, by whom he was conveyed to Paris, and Philip caused him to be kept a close prisoner. Notwithstanding this heavy loss, his countess, who, according to Froissart, "possessed the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," excited her partisans to defend herself and her son with a devotion worthy of such an object; and despatched one of her knights, Sir Almeric de Clissons, to the court of England, to entreat Edward's assistance, on the condition that her son should marry one of his daughters. Sir Almeric found the king in London, engaged in giving a congratulatory banquet to the earl of Salisbury, whom he had at last succeeded by exchanging for the Earl of Moray, in releasing from his imprisonment in France, and after receiving him very courteously, gave a ready assent to the countess's request, and despatched Sir Walter Manny, with a force in which were 620 men-at-arms, and 6000 archers, to her relief.¹

Edward at this time found ample employment in the various warlike measures he was obliged to adopt to strengthen himself at home and abroad. On the continent he is stated to have been carrying on war in Picardy, Normandy, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, and Brittany;² at home he was collecting his resources for a bold movement; and, like a skilful general, he sought to keep alive the spirit he desired should exist amongst his followers, by giving a series of the most splendid

¹ The adventures of Sir Walter Manny in behalf of the lion-hearted countess will be found delightfully told by FROISSART, chap. lxxxix.

² FROISSART, chap. lxxxix.

military entertainments ; one of which, a tournament, believed to have been held in honour of the countess of Salisbury, is described as lasting for fifteen days, and as having been attended by native and foreign nobility in great numbers. The ladies and damsels were most superbly dressed, according to their different degrees, except the countess, who made herself remarkable by the plainness of her apparel, amidst the general display of magnificence around her. This is said to have been done to shew her reluctance to the distinguishing attentions the king continued to pay her, but he does not appear to have expressed any thing beyond personal homage, and it is not very probable he entertained any evil intentions, for he made her husband one of his most confidential advisers, bestowed upon him the sovereignty of the Isle of Man,¹ and sent him afterwards to Brittany with an important command.²

Sir Walter Manny shewed the highest talents and the most daring valour, whilst fighting the countess of Montford's battles, but his force was not sufficient to cope with that of the enemy, and Edward found it necessary to send considerable reinforcements under the command of the earls of Richmond and Northampton. They performed many brilliant achievements ; and, on one occasion, whilst signalling himself against the enemy, who were besieging him with a very superior force in the city of Vannes, which he had recently taken by assault, the earl of Richmond was severely wounded. He managed to cut his way through the beleaguering host, and escaped to Hennebon, where anxiety of mind, acting upon an enfeebled frame, caused his wound to assume a more serious aspect than the surgery of the time could remedy. The proud spirit of Robert d'Artois sunk when all his aspirations seemed humbled in the dust, and the wrongs that had made him a wanderer from his home were apparently likely to pass unavenged. Neither the bruised heart nor the wounded body could be healed, and an enfeebling dysentery in a few days hurried the sufferer to the grave. He died

¹ BARNES, p. 267.

² FROISSART, chap. xcii.

early in November 1342,¹ greatly lamented by all who knew how to appreciate his chivalrous character. The king of England, by whom he was much esteemed, caused his corpse to be entombed with the most honourable obsequies.

In the autumn of the year 1342, Edward had completed his preparations under very great difficulties, for his exchequer was at the lowest ebb, and engagements to a heavy amount were still unliquidated. Nevertheless he managed to raise a large sum from his loyal subjects, and to equip a formidable army, with which he sailed from Sandwich, about the 5th of October, and had reached the coast of Brittany at the commencement of the following month; his warlike stores being provided on so liberal a scale as to take three days in landing. Intelligence of the death of his friend, Robert d'Artois, must have reached him almost as soon as he came on shore, and whilst he gave orders to do him honour, he was planning the means of avenging him. He opened communications with the countess de Montford, with Sir Walter Manny, and other commanders in the neighbourhood: taking Sir Walter with her, the fair countess hastened to join the king, who was handsomely entertained by her for four days, when, with the good wishes of Edward and all his gallant associates, the fearless heroine returned with her retinue to Hennebont.

Edward soon put his army in motion, and became possessed of several places of minor importance in the neighbourhood of Vannes,² a very strong city, in the possession of the enemy, to which he then advanced. He commenced the siege with his usual vigour, but was far from confining his attention to it, for he despatched detachments in various directions, to make themselves masters of any place within reach that was not too strong to resist them,³ and entered into nego-

¹ BARNES (*Hist. Edw. III.* p. 272), following FROISSART, chap. xciii. makes Robert d'Artois proceed after his wound to England, and die there; but this account does not agree with the documents in the *Fadera*.

² ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 98.

³ The principal of these detachments was under the command of the earls of Norfolk and Warwick, and its destination was Nantes.

tiations with some of the lords of the country in the French interest, in which he succeeded in persuading them to embrace the cause of the count de Montford.¹ In the meantime Philip de Valois was not inactive, for Charles de Blois and the besiegers learned that John, duke of Normandy, was marching against them at the head of 40,000 men. The force remaining with the king of England was not a fourth of that number; and when it was announced that the king of France and the count de Blois were approaching with considerable reinforcements, his position appeared a perilous one. Edward called in all his detachments, and made arrangements for giving his enemies a warm reception if they attacked him. The duke of Normandy approached and took up a strong position, which obliged the king of England either to remain and suffer great privations in his camp, or leave his entrenchments and offer battle under the most hazardous disadvantages. The first of these evils seemed to be forced upon him, for a French fleet prevented the arrival from England of any provisions, of which the army stood greatly in need.

Before the hostile armies had been many days in each other's vicinity, two cardinals arrived from the new pope, Clement VI.—Benedict having died in April of this year²—with the object of persuading the rival kings to cease their hostilities. They laboured with earnest zeal, and were not in want of friends in either camp to give them their co-operation. The English forces were suffering from want of provision, and were obliged to go out in large parties to forage, whilst the French suffered equally from the inclemency of the weather, the rain coming down in such torrents that their encampment became an uninhabitable marsh, in which they lost the greater part of their horses, and, to secure themselves, were obliged to abandon their tents and lie out in the open fields.³ Under these cir-

¹ The lords of Clisson, Loheac, Machecoul, and Retz, were amongst those whom the king had gained over.

² FABIAN, p. 455, edited by Sir Henry Ellis.

³ FROISSART, chap. xcvi.

cumstances both leaders became accessible to the exhortations of the peace-makers ; but Edward, not without reason, had some distrust of the pontiff's impartiality, and stated to the cardinals, that unless a treaty was proposed to him, honourable to himself and profitable to his allies, which that pope should decide as a private person and not as a judge, he would not acknowledge his mediation, and would pursue his quarrel.¹ After some delays, commissioners for both parties were appointed to meet at the priory of St. Mary Magdalen, in Malestroit, a town in Brittany, and a convention for a truce was the result of their deliberations.²

A charter, containing the necessary conditions, was drawn up, sworn to, signed, and sealed, in the presence of the cardinals, and is dated on the 18th of January, 1343.³

Thus ended Edward's third campaign in France, for soon after the conclusion of the treaty he proceeded, with the greater portion of his army, and his fair ally, the countess de Montford, to England. The results of this campaign must have afforded him more satisfaction than either of its predecessors, for although there had been no great victories, several of his captains had led distinct bodies of his troops against the French, and obtained such decisive advantages, that he could not but place increased confidence in their valour. Before defences they had no less distinguished themselves than in the open field ; and at the end of the campaign the king found himself indebted to them for the towns of Brest, Quimper, Corentin, Quemperle, Hennebon, Redon, and Guérande ; Vannes might be included in these acquisitions, as, notwithstanding the article in the treaty, its inhabitants continued to acknowledge him as their liege lord. It will be readily seen, from a careful perusal of this and the preceding chapter, that the genius of Edward of Windsor was

¹ BARNES, p. 283.

² The treaty at full may be found in ROBERT OF AVESBURY, p. 100, in WALSHINGHAM, p. 147, &c. and is abbreviated in DU CHESNE, f. 659.

³ DR. HENRY, *Hist. of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 226, erroneously states that the "truce was confirmed with great solemnity by the oaths of both kings." The business was arranged entirely by commissioners.

beginning to triumph over the almost insurmountable difficulties with which the enforcement of his claim upon the throne of France was at first surrounded. His military resources bore no comparison to those of his rival, yet, despite of most serious obstacles, he was gradually improving them at his expense. His captains were gaining knowledge and acquiring advantages simultaneously. His men were drilled by the most encouraging of all lessons, success. They acquired confidence in themselves, their weapons, and their commanders, by evidence that could not be called in question—their superiority to all opposed to them. And Edward was obtaining the most useful portion of the education of a general—intelligence of the assailable points of his enemy, and a personal knowledge of the features of the country he intended to make his battle-field.

It may, therefore, be imagined, that it was with no ordinary feelings of gratification Edward embarked to return to his own country; but these soon turned to anxiety for the safety of his fleet, for a most furious tempest arose, which kept his vessels a long time beating about at the mercy of the winds and waves, during which they are stated to have been driven towards the coast of Spain, where they fell in with the fleet of king Alphonso.¹ The king managed to reach Weymouth on the 2d of February;² the countess of Montford landed at a port in Devonshire,³ but some of the ships were wrecked in the storm, and all on board drowned.

Edward summoned a parliament to meet on the 1st of May,⁴ to consider whether their king ought or ought not to send envoys to explain his rights to the pontiff; in other words, to get their consent to a provision in the treaty just concluded, to that effect. On which day the prelates and great men answered, that the convention was both honourable and advantageous to the king as well as to his allies, and that every Christ-

¹ KNIGHTON, 2583.

² RYMER *Fadera*, vol. v. p. 357. ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 109.

³ HOLINSHED, *Eng. Chron.* p. 920.

⁴ ROT. PARL. 17 EDW. III. n. 7.

ian ought to desire that a war so hurtful to his community should cease; wherefore they agreed to the truce, and particularly to the embassy to the pope. Then the knights of counties came, and the commons, and answered, by master William Tressel, in the presence of the king, prelates, and great men, in the White Chamber, that provided an honourable peace could be obtained they agreed to the truce; but in case the ambassadors could not obtain honourable conditions, they were ready to grant aid to assist the king, and to maintain his quarrel with all their power. Consequently commissioners were appointed to meet those of the king of France, in the presence of the pope, as a private person, and not as a judge, and to treat upon all dominions, dignities, honours, lands, possessions, places, and rights, in which there was any controversy, and concerning Edward's right to the crown and kingdom of France, and to arrange all dissensions, wars, quarrels, commotions, questions, damages, and injuries, done, given, or made, on either side.¹

The new pontiff, Clement, was a Frenchman. But, besides this cause for leaning to the side of Philip de Valois, he was incensed against his rival for having recently put an end to the long-complained of abuse of the pope appointing to vacant benefices in England.² When, therefore, the ambassadors presented themselves at Avignon, it is not to be expected that the treaty was allowed to proceed to the satisfaction of the king of England.³ His claim was argued very elaborately, and replied to with an equal display of eloquence. The pontiff offered many equivalents for the dukedom of Guienne, and seemed desirous of treating of matters not contained in the instructions of the commissioners; but they would not enter upon the discussion of such things till they were satisfied in their demand of the crown and kingdom of France for their sovereign.

¹ ROT. FRANC. 17 EDW. III. m. 12, 20 *Maii*. IBID. 19 *Aug.* n. 6. IBID. 18 EDW. III. m. 3, 4 *Aug.* IBID. m. 2, *Oct.* 20.

² The style in which Edward wrote to the pontiff on this subject must have been any thing but agreeable to him.—BARNES, p. 277.

³ MS. CORR. *Cleopatra*. EDW. III. f. 18.

Two additional commissioners¹ were soon afterwards sent from England; but they met with no better success than the others, and up to the close of the year 1344, the proposed treaty was as far from being arranged as at first. It must not be forgotten that in the course of the negotiations the pope held out a threat of the emperor of Bavaria joining Philip de Valois against the king of England. In answer to which Edward characteristically sent word that he was ready to fight them both in defence of his rights.²

Philip de Valois appears throughout the quarrel to have acted with an entire absence of any thing resembling great and generous views. He was crafty in his policy, which always bore the impress of narrow-mindedness; but what he gained in subtlety he lost by meanness. By assisting David the Bruce, he knew how much he was advancing his own interests; but the gross injustice with which he acted towards Robert d'Artois and the count de Montford, entirely from selfish considerations, gave an advantage to his rival much more than an equivalent to any injury Edward might sustain from his influence in Scotland. Whatever may have been the sentiments entertained by the king of France for the king of England, the recent successes of the latter appear to have aggravated his hatred till it assumed an aspect at once dishonourable and contemptible. Secure of the interest of Clement, he cared not for covertly breaking the truce; and as he well knew he could not gratify his vengeance on his antagonist, he was disposed to direct it against any person connected with him who might by a stretch of authority be got within his power. Among the lords of the country who had recently been won over to the side of Edward, during the contest between Charles de Blois and the count de Montford, was a powerful baron of Poitou, styled the lord de Clisson. This nobleman, with others of his countrymen who had also become partisans of the king of England, Philip marked for

¹ ROT. FRAN. EDW. III. m. 2, 18. Oct. 20.

² WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 153.

his victims. The lord de Clisson with fourteen nobles of Normandy and Brittany were, towards the close of the year 1343, seized in Brittany.¹ On their arrival in Paris they were all thrown into prison,² and without any form of trial de Clisson was beheaded, and his body suspended from a gibbet at Monfauçon.³ The lord of Malestroit and his son, the lord of Avangour, Sir Tibaut de Morillon, and other lords of Brittany, to the number of ten knights and squires, were also beheaded at Paris; and it was reported that four other knights of Normandy were made victims of the same cold-blooded treachery.⁴ As soon as intelligence of these proceedings reached Edward, he made an indignant protest to the pope against such an infamous violation of the truce; and although Clement sought, by every artifice of which he was master, to excuse his countryman, he was obliged to allow that one of the provisions of the treaty had been infringed. Some correspondence passed between them, in which Philip is made to put forth a defence more contemptible than the act it so vainly attempts to justify.⁵ These wretched deeds were much canvassed in the provinces bordering on France, as well as in England, and they caused many a distinguished knight who had hitherto been a zealous partisan of the king of France, to turn with disgust from a monarch so void of every chivalrous impulse, and to regard with a livelier admiration the knightly virtues of his illustrious competitor.

¹ The French historians say that they thrust themselves into the lion's den, by going to Paris voluntarily, to assist at a tournament.—*Chron. de France*, chap. xxxii.

² FROISSART, chap. xcix. KNIGHTON, 2588. ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 114.

³ *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 268.

⁴ FROISSART, chap. xcix.

⁵ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. v. ODOR. RAINALD, *ad hunc ann.*

CHAPTER VI.

Edward holds a Feast of the Round Table at Windsor—Conduct of Philip de Valois—Impression it produces in England—Invasion of France by the King of England and his Son—A Bad Omen—The English in France—Edward takes Caen—Approaches Paris—His Critical Position—Passage of the Somme—Edward defeats Gondomar du Fay—His Military Position at Cressy—Appearance of the King before the Battle—Approach of the French army—Its immense Superiority to the English—The Battle of Cressy—The English advance upon Calais—The English Camp before Calais—Expense of the Army—Blockade of Calais by Sea and Land—Edward's Noble Conduct—Philip de Valois incites the King of Scots to Invade England—David the Bruce taken Prisoner at the Battle of Neville's Cross and his Army defeated—Arrival of Queen Philippa in the Camp before Calais—Advance of Philip de Valois to the assistance of the besieged—He retreats beyond Amiens—Surrender of Calais—Eustace de St. Pierre—The Queen and Prince beg the forfeited Lives of Six of the principal Burghers—Edward's Generosity to the Vanquished—He returns to England.

WHEN Edward returned to England after the treaty of Malestroit, he appeared to devote himself almost exclusively to the military education of his eldest son. That he had long entertained a taste for military spectacles, the preceding pages sufficiently prove; but it was now to be exhibited with a degree of method that gave to all preceding displays a totally different character. Mention has already been made of Edward's admiration for the chivalrous doings of his ancestor, king Arthur of glorious memory; and he gave a further proof of it by creating an annual military festival to be held at Windsor, called "the Feast of the Round Table,"¹ in which himself as the representative of that hero of romance, and his most distinguished captains as his doughty knights, entered the lists against all comers. Heralds² having made known that foreign

¹ Several instances have been preserved of "feasts of the Round Table." Since the days of king Arthur, king Stephen, Richard Cœur de Leon, Edward the First, and Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, had held them in different parts of England: the circular form of the table, at which the knights sat at their banquets, having been selected, to put them all on an equality. —BARNES, p. 292.

² RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 400.

knights would be welcome to share in these feats of arms, and that queen Philippa, and 200 of the fairest ladies of the court, would grace the entertainment, England was honoured with an imposing array of European chivalry. Philip de Valois,¹ with characteristic little-mindedness, strove to stop the knights of France and the neighbouring nations from visiting his rival, by setting up a Round Table of his own; but his envy and jealousy effected nothing against the well-designed festival of the king of England.

When the appointed day arrived, the 18th of January, 1344, Windsor was crowded with a brilliant assemblage of the beauty and bravery, not only of England, but of all the neighbouring states. A commodious amphitheatre, of 200 feet in diameter, had been erected near the castle,² and there the festival was opened with a costly banquet served up with all the imposing prodigality and rude magnificence which distinguished the stately feasts of this era.³ The next day, and every day the sports were continued, the nobles and knights of England, and those of other countries, exercised themselves in every kind of knightly exercise; the queen and her ladies looking on from a balustraded balcony running all round the lists.⁴ Every knight sought distinction, and only gained it at the expense of many hard blows,—in one instance, a most lamentable one, an English nobleman high in his sovereign's estimation, the earl of Norfolk, marshal of England, died from the injuries he received.⁵

The king thus early brought before the attention of his son, in a manner that could scarcely fail of leaving a deep impression, the most noble examples of knight-hood in the world, exhibiting the accomplishments

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Ypodig.* p. 17.

² *IBID.*

³ BARNES, p. 295.

⁴ *IBID.*

⁵ BARNES has followed WALSINGHAM (*Ypodig.* p. 117), and HOLINSHED (*Engl. Chron.* p. 924), in making the brave earl of Salisbury the nobleman who was killed on this occasion; but there is good reason for believing that the earl survived for many years, and was one of the original knights of the garter, though, with most historians, his son, a youth of nineteen, who had done nothing to deserve such a distinction, is supposed to have been so honoured.

which procured them their reputation, at the same time that he increased his own influence both at home and abroad. But this superiority excited in Philip de Valois the most bitter animosity; and he employed every engine he could command to give his rival as much annoyance as possible. His influence with the pope appears to have been unbounded, and through his intrigues the cardinals, who had been left in Brittany as conservators of the peace, became intolerably hostile to the king of England. He paid the most contemptuous disregard of the treaty, setting his partisans to break out into open hostilities against the friends of de Montford, and assisting them with arms and money. He also endeavoured to cajole some of the influential friends of Edward to abandon him, and connect themselves with his party. But of all his unprincipled proceedings, the most disgraceful was his pitiful revenge upon the lords of Normandy and Brittany alluded to in the last chapter. When the intelligence reached England it excited a deep burst of execration from every manly breast; and Edward, then preparing for his Feast of the Round Table, was so incensed that in the first outpouring of his indignation, he seemed desirous, in the barbarous spirit of the times, of retaliating by taking the life of Sir Hervé de Leon, a French prisoner in his hands. But wiser and better counsels were readily listened to, and he proceeded to act in a very different manner. Calling the knight before him, he exclaimed, "Ha! Sir Hervé, my adversary, Philip de Valois, has shewn his treachery in too cruel a manner when he put to death so many knights. It has given me much displeasure; and it appears as if it was done in despite of me. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you, for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other; but I shall endure it, and let him act according to his own will. I will preserve my own honour unspotted, and shall allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requested it; but upon conditions that you perform what I am going to ask of you."

"Dear sir," replied the knight, "I will do, to the best of my power, whatever you may command."

"I know, Sir Hervé," added the king, "that you are one of the richest knights in Brittany, and if I were to press you, you would pay me thirty or forty thousand crowns for your ransom. But you will go to Philip de Valois, my adversary, and tell him from me, that by putting so many knights to death in so dishonourable a manner, he has sore displeased me; and I say and maintain that he has by this means broken and infringed the truce which we had agreed to; and that from this moment I consider it as broken, and send him by you my defiance. In consideration of your carrying this message, I will let you off two thousand crowns, which you will pay or send to Bruges, in five days after you shall have crossed the sea. You will also inform all such knights and squires as wish to attend my feast, for we shall be right glad to see them, not to desist on this account, for they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it be over."

"Sir," answered the knight, "I will perform your message to the best of my abilities, and God reward you and my lord of Derby for your kindness to me."¹

The matter did not rest here. It came under the consideration of parliament in its most comprehensive form. In a statement which was presented to the members, after noticing the unjustifiable slaughter of "*chevaliers, esquires, et gents*," already alluded to, it proceeds to say, that "the said adversary" (Philip de Valois), sent men-at-arms and foot to a great number into Gascony and Brittany, who, after the truce made, took castles, towers, and manors, and other possessions *en obedience de nostre seigneur le roi*, at the making of the treaty, in which, amongst other things, it is contained, that no new thing should be attempted during the truce;² but besides attempting to possess

¹ FROISSART, chap. ci.

² ROT. PARL. 18 EDW. III. n. 5. "Es queux entre autres choses est contenuz que rien serroit attempez de novell durantes mesmes les Trewes."

himself of all the king's lands beyond the sea, the said adversary labours intently to induce his allies in Brabant, Flanders, and Germany, to abandon him, and, adds the document, "hath a firm purpose, as our king and council have certainly been informed, to destroy the English language, and to possess himself of England (which God forbid!) if a forcible remedy were not applied to him."¹

Both lay and spiritual lords were greatly excited by the French king's conduct, and the walls of the "White Chamber" rung with many a bold denunciation of it by the bold barons and hardy knights, who had been summoned to decide how the offender should be treated. The debate continued for nearly three days, when, among other resolutions, the assembly gave it as their opinion, that considering the great charges to which the great men and the commons of England had been put to, by reason of the war continuing so long, "by false truces and sufferances;" and seeing openly that an end of the war, or so good a peace as ought to be obtained, cannot be arrived at without great force of men and great power, they pray the king with one assent, and all the great men individually, that he would make an end of the war either by battle, or by a convenient peace if it might be had. And that when the king should be about to pass beyond sea to take what God should give him upon the exploit of this business, he would not for the letters or command of the pope, or any one else, lay aside his voyage, until he had brought this affair to a conclusion one way or the other.

These energetic sentiments were readily responded to by the king, and he immediately promised all his parliament desired; and then they proceeded to pass very liberal grants to enable him to expedite his preparations.² While these matters were in progress, Edward gave a succession of tournaments and military pageants, by which means the prowess and skill of his com-

¹ ROT. PARL. 18 EDW. III. n. 5. "Et si est il inferme propos a ce que nostre seigneur le roi et son conseil ont intenduz en certeyn a destruire la lange Englois," &c.

² ROT. PARL. 18 EDW. III. n. 9, 10, &c.

manders were placed so familiarly before his eyes, that he possessed the most accurate conception of their talents. William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, was selected by him to cross the seas and defy his unworthy rival, with the title, and in the capacity, of his representative in France and Brittany, and a proclamation to the French people, and a manifesto of defiance to Philip de Valois, were published at the same time.¹ The king had not long to wait for volunteers for a new invasion of France, for, from the highest to the lowest, they were eager to assist in punishing a monarch who had behaved with such inexcusable injustice. Whilst this warlike ferment was at its height in England, the earl de Montford escaped from his prison, and with Godfrey de Harcourt, another distinguished victim of Philip's tyranny, publicly acknowledged Edward as the rightful king of France—de Montford performing homage to him, in that capacity, for his duchy of Brittany.² Both these noblemen were men of distinguished courage, and were deeply excited against Philip de Valois for the wrongs they had suffered at his hands; but the high-spirited claimant of the dukedom of Brittany lived not to display the ardour for gallant enterprise he undoubtedly felt. He died on the 26th of September at Hennebon, a little after he had landed on his native soil, with a small detachment led by the earl of Northampton.³ This expedition was followed by one on a much larger scale, to support the king of England's authority in Guienne, under the command of the earl of Derby, having with him the earl of Pembroke and Sir Walter Manny; ⁴ but a third, of a still more imposing character, was in a considerable state of forwardness. The greatest activity prevailed amongst all classes engaged upon it, for it was known it was to be under the command of the king, and that he intended taking with him his son, the young prince of Wales. A sufficient number of ships having been collected, the armament set sail from

¹ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 114.

² RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 458.

⁴ FROISSART, chap. cii.

³ *Ibid.*

Sandwich on the 3d of July, 1345, and landed at Sluys a few days afterwards.¹ The sudden and violent end of von Artevelde caused the chief object of this expedition to be abandoned, and Edward and his forces returned to England before the end of the month.²

The king had scarcely returned to his dominions, when he commenced making the most strenuous efforts to increase his disposable force, as it was his intention to invade France directly all his military resources were available. He was actively employed in renewing old alliances, and forming new ones with the view of strengthening his own position and weakening that of his adversary. He was not indifferent to the importance of placing his kingdom on the defensive, although he cared little for the vapouring of the Normans, who were exceedingly liberal towards England in their promises of annihilation; but his chief anxiety was to create an army capable of standing against the immense force the duke of Normandy was reported to be leading against the earl of Derby, whose achievements in Guienne had done him much honour. Notwithstanding all his exertions, however, and the zealous co-operation of his subjects, Edward did not set sail from England till the month of July in the following year. The delay was vexatious, but it enabled him to bring into operation such an army as he felt confident would permit of his taking the field against his adversary, with a fair hope of success. He had with him the prince of Wales, who was about to enter upon his first campaign, and to shew to what profitable purpose he could apply the careful teaching by which his gallant father had made him the most accomplished knight of his age. He was accompanied also by an assemblage of the bravest men in England, many of whom had, by their sovereign's example, been induced to embrace the profession of arms, and under his observation had conferred upon it no slight share of honour. The humblest soldiers were of the same sterling stamp as their superiors; and a considerable portion were veterans

¹ RYMER, vol. v. p. 474. FROISSART, chap. cxv.

² ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 122. KNIGHTON, 2585.

who, at the very sound of war, eagerly left their comfortable homesteads to follow the fortunes of their heroic lord.¹ Every man between sixteen and sixty on the hither side of Trent had been summoned. Altogether the army amounted to at least 30,000 combatants. They set sail from the Isle of Wight about the middle of July 1346,² and after a short passage, reached La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy, where they disembarked without opposition.

Edward had learned before he had left England, that his brother-in-law, the count of Hainault, had managed to get himself knocked on the head in some skirmish in Friesland;³ he had also received intelligence, that his uncle, John de Beaumont, had been won over by the seductions of Philip de Valois, whom he had joined with all his forces.⁴ The last loss made by far the greatest impression upon him; but Edward had had such experience of his Flemish allies, that the apostasy even of the one he had had most confidence in failed, it seemed, to excite any mark of his indignation beyond a hearty malediction. Happily for himself and his gallant countrymen, he was not encumbered in his voyage by such uncertain friends, and knowing of what trusty stuff his men were made, he embraced the enterprise with the most sanguine expectations. Before embarking he had made a trial of their fidelity, by publicly stating his claim to the throne of France, and the justice of his quarrel, desiring them upon their

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 493, &c. ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 123.

² FROISSART, chap. cxx. "They found eleven ships at La Hogue, each of which had castles before and behind; these a man set on fire."—ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxvi.

⁴ *IBID.* chap. cxvii. These worthies were always open to the best bidder, as is very clearly expressed in the following apology: "In order to make him alter his opinion of the English, they made him believe that they would not pay him his subsidy for a considerable time. This put Sir John so much out of humour, that he renounced all treaties and agreements which he had entered into with England. The king of France was no sooner informed of it, than he sent him persons sufficiently authorised, who retained him, as well as his council, for France, at a certain salary; and he recompensed him in his kingdom with a greater revenue than he derived from England."

landing to behave themselves like men, since he resolved to send back his fleet on his arrival in France; and added, that if any man's heart failed him, he might stay in England with his good leave. "To which they answered with one consent," says the historian, "that they were all ready to follow where he pleased, were it to death itself."¹ So impatient was he to set his foot upon the soil he claimed as his own, that he was the first to leap on shore; but in his eagerness, he stumbled and fell on his face on the sands, with such violence, that the blood gushed from his nose. His friends stood aghast; "Dear sir," said they, very earnestly, "let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen."

"For why?" answered the king quickly. "I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me."² This sensible and well-timed answer wonderfully pleased his superstitious auditors, and they became satisfied nothing could have happened more encouraging. The landing continued, and six days elapsed before men, horses, armour, and baggage, were brought on shore, and preparations made for commencing the march. During this interval Edward held a council to deliberate on the best means of carrying on the war; and made several appointments, among which were the earl of Warwick and Sir Godfrey de Harcourt as marshals of the army, and the earl of Arundel as constable.³ He also created several knights, the prince of Wales being of the number.⁴ These rewards operated as stimulants to exertion, making many a young squire who witnessed the im-

¹ GIOV. VILLANI, l. xii. chap. lxii. p. 872.

² DU CHESNE, p. 663. FROISSART, chap. cxxi.

³ DU CHESNE, p. 663. FROISSART, chap. cxxi.

⁴ This creation of knights, made, as it were, on the threshold of the kingdom they were expected to aid in conquering, was a singularly fortunate one, for nearly every one obtained great distinction in the French wars. The most celebrated, exclusive of the prince, were the lord William Montague, son of the countess of Salisbury, Roger lord Mortimer, William lord de Roos, and Roger de la Ware, grandson of lord John de la Ware, John d'Arcy, son to the lord John d'Arcy, was made a knight banneret, with a grant of 200*l.* per annum out of the exchequer.—BARNES, p. 341.

posing ceremony eager to perform some exploit likely to attain for him the same distinction.

The army of the king of England thus established in an enemy's country was estimated to consist of 4000 men-at-arms, and 10,000 archers, with about 18,000 Welsh and Irish foot, the latter being in number not more than one half the other.¹ Its great strength, however, consisted in the number of experienced leaders who were found in the ranks, every one by his own banner. The names² of the most distinguished will be frequently repeated in this narrative; others of less elevated rank raised themselves to a level with the highest by their exertions in this war, and many a noble family, at the present day, owe their honours to some humble ancestor, whose first step to honour violated the Norman soil under the banner of Edward of Windsor. Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, whose own domains were in the neighbourhood of La Hogue, has the credit of originating and suggesting this invasion to king Edward, for which his reputation has been very savagely handled by the historical writers of France.

After due deliberation, a few of the best vessels well-manned, were ordered, under the command of the earl of Huntingdon, to sail along the coast, to accompany the march of the army as closely as possible. The land forces were then put in motion, and were divided into three divisions: the first to march by the sea-side on the north, led by the earl of Warwick; to the left marched Sir Godfrey Harcourt with another division, and the king, having the prince of Wales with him, commanded the centre.³ What were the feelings of Edward as he beheld the compact masses of his

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxx.

² A list is given in FROISSART, chap. cxx.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxi. "On the Friday, whilst the king still remained, a detachment proceeded to Barfleur, where they expected to find many people, but there were none of any consequence. Here were eleven ships with castles before and behind, two carracks, and several smaller vessels lying in the quays. The town is about the size and importance of Sandwich. When this detachment went away, the seamen set fire to the town, and several good towns and manors in the neighbouring county were given to the flames."—ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY.

troops pressing forward, eager to shew their devotion to him, and scanned their vigorous frames and martial bearing, it is not difficult to imagine. The path in which he had met so many obstacles seemed at last opening before his view. It is true, he had not with him so numerous an army as when he invaded France from Flanders, but its deficiency in numbers was counterbalanced by its union, its discipline, and its determination to conquer or perish. He was no longer under the fear that some important section of his forces would abandon him on the first temptation of their mercenary leader from his watchful rival. The men under his command moved as if they had but one heart, as they had but one cause. Most of them had freely parted with the best portion of their worldly wealth to enable their beloved monarch to match himself against his enemy, and they were now disposed to lavish their blood for the same object, and with the same generosity.

The three divisions were directed to proceed on their several ways during the day, but at night they were to draw together, and lodge as though they were but one host. They, like the ships, swept all before them; for, as Godfrey de Harcourt had said, the French had not dreamed of an invasion on that part of the coast, and they had no means whatever of offering a defence.¹ The town and castle of Valognes were obtained without opposition.² This seems to have been their first halting place. The army pressed on under the guidance of Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was thoroughly acquainted with every part of that district,³ and a remarkably agreeable one it must have seemed to its invaders; for it is said, "They found it rich and plentiful, abounding in all things; the barns full of every sort of corn, and the houses with riches; the inhabitants at their ease, having cars, carts, horses,

¹ "When the king removed on Tuesday, he marched to Valognes, where they stayed all night, and found abundance of provisions."—ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 123.

² COTTON MSS. CLAUDIUS D. VII.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxi.

swine, sheep, and every thing in abundance, which the country afforded.”¹ I regret to add that this pleasant landscape was speedily marred. Possibly the recent threat of the people of the country to destroy England excited Edward’s troops to do more mischief than under other circumstances they would have been disposed. Certain it is that the ravages of the torch and the sword were such as in more humane days would not be tolerated amongst any people boasting of pretensions to civilisation.

At first little resistance appears to have been made to the English army, but the alarm of their approach spreading as they advanced, they found bridges broken down, and other evidences that preparations were being made to dispute their passage. The inhabitants had not time to remove their wealth, and great booty fell into the hands of the soldiers.² Pillaging and burning as they passed along, they at last arrived at the town of Carentan, at which an attempt at defence was made by the garrison, but it was so fiercely assailed by land and sea that both town and castle speedily surrendered.³ It so happened that the heads of some of the victims of Philip de Valois’ vengeance had been exposed over the gates,⁴ which, on being discovered, so inflamed the minds of the conquerors that the town was given up to pillage, and a considerable portion destroyed. Carentan fell to that division of the army commanded by the earl of Warwick. The king proceeded with his own division, before which Sir Godfrey de Harcourt marched as marshal, at the head of the vanguard of 500 armed men and 2000 archers, about six or seven leagues in advance. He did not keep the best discipline, for his men seized upon whatever they fancied, retaining the most valuable articles to their

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxi.

² FROISSART states, “That there was so much wealth found in some of the towns that the boys of the army set no value upon gowns trimmed with fur.”

³ “This town is as large as Leicester, and contained vast quantities of wine and provisions. A great part of the city was given to the flames, although the king tried to save it.”—ROB. DE AVESSURY, p. 124.

⁴ DU SERRES, in *Philip de Valois*, p. 7.

own use, and making an account to their officers of the remainder. The whole battalion, consisting of 3000 men-at-arms, 6000 archers, and 10,000 infantry, exclusive of those with the marshals, marched on to St. Lo,¹ which is described as a rich commercial town, with much drapery and many wealthy inhabitants, of whom eight or nine were engaged in commerce. The king encamped outside the walls, sending his advanced guard to assault the place. St. Lo was very shortly in his possession, and a rare prize it proved. "No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it," says the chronicler. "If there had been any purchasers, they might have bought a goodly penny-worth."²

After this the king marched towards Caen, a town with such defences as made it difficult to win, but possessed of such wealth as made its conquest exceedingly desirable. The garrison and inhabitants, with a great show of resolution, marched out of the town to meet the advancing English; but when they caught sight of their banners, and beheld their martial array, they very wisely marched back again; not fast enough, however, for their own security, for they were pursued into the town with a vast slaughter, and many were glad to secure their lives by a timely surrender.³ A terrible conflict took place in the narrow streets. The people hurling down on the heads of the English, stones, benches, and every thing sufficiently ponderous to be destructive, by which Froissart declares that at least 500 of the assailants lost their lives. This obstinate defence, it is asserted by the same authority, made the king inclined to severe measures, but Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who exercised great influence in his councils, advised those of a conciliatory character; these being readily agreed to, a proclamation was made public in the king's name, that no one

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxi. Immense riches were found here,—1000 tuns of wine, and abundance of other goods. The town is larger than St. Nicholas.—ROB. DE AVESBURY.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxii.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxiii.—RYMER *Fædera*, tom. iii. part 1.

should dare, under pain of immediate death, to insult or hurt man or woman of the town, or attempt to set fire to it. After this a better spirit prevailed between the English and the inhabitants; but, notwithstanding the attempts made to check violence, a great many crimes were committed, and immense plunder obtained, during the three days the former held the town.¹

So far the invasion of Normandy had been most disastrous to the French, whilst it had produced a mine of wealth to the English. Froissart states that, after the capture of Caen, Edward sent his fleet to England, laden with clothes, jewels, gold and silver plate, and a quantity of other riches, and upwards of sixty knights, with 300 able citizens, prisoners.² But what was taken away made but a small proportion to what was destroyed. Ships, towns, and castles, seem to have been burning incessantly since the invaders made good their landing at La Hogue.³ Such results made amends for many disappointments.

Edward left Caen, and marched through Normandy, in the direction of Rouen. At Lisieux Edward was met by the two cardinals,⁴ who seemed exceedingly anxious for peace, but as the proposition they were authorised to make was nothing more than a

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxiii. MR. JAMES, *History of the Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 342, on the authority of the *City Archives*, vol. i. fol. 120, doubts the whole of Froissart's statement regarding the king's retaliatory intentions, as his loss at Caen was, according to the best accounts, very insignificant. Michael Northburgh confines his notice of the casualties on the English side to those of gentle blood, the commonalty, as is frequently the case with him, not being thought worth his attention; but it is difficult to believe that after such a desperate resistance there was not considerable loss on the part of the assailants.—ROB. DE AVESBURY.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxiv.

³ "When the king quitted La Hogue, he left there 200 ships, which were taken to Rothemasse, after which the country was harried two or three leagues inland, and much booty was made and brought to the ships. They sailed as far as Cherbourg, which was an excellent town, with a strong castle and a handsome and noble abbey; they destroyed the said city and castle, and the whole country round about, from the sea to Rothemasse, to the army at the haven of Caen, a distance of twenty-six English leagues. And the number of ships that were burnt was sixty-one ships of war, with castles before and behind; and twenty-three carracks; besides of other smaller vessels more than twenty-one. They also destroyed thirty tuns of wine."—ROB. DE AVESBURY.

⁴ RYMER, *Fœdera*, tom. ii. part iv.

restitution on the part of Philip de Valois of the duchy of Aquitaine, in the form in which it had been held by Edward the Second, with promises of greater advantages, provided the king of England would connect his family by marriage with that of his rival, he would not listen to them. In the first place, Edward insisted, as he had a right to do, that Aquitaine should be restored, as it had come into the possession of the kings of England through the marriage of Eleanor with his ancestor, Henry the Second; and in the next, he had had ample experience of the value of these negotiations, and was too well aware of the danger of delay, to allow himself to entertain such proposals. Leaving the reverend prelates to notify his decision to his adversary — after ascertaining that during his stay at Lisieux, Rouen¹ had been put in such a state of defence, an attack had become too hazardous an enterprise to be attempted — he boldly took the road to Paris, burning and plundering all the towns on his route, where he found the bridges destroyed, repaired them, and to the consternation of the Parisians pushed on to within two leagues of their capital.² At Poissy, about the middle of August, the king celebrated the feast of the Virgin Mary, sitting at table in his scarlet robes, without sleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines. But though, without doubt, he and his gallant companions found no small satisfaction in celebrating a religious festival with so much pomp in the very heart of their enemy's dominions, they were too well aware of the proceedings of Philip de Valois to waste time, under the circumstances in which they were placed, in such displays. They were soon in the field again: the king had found considerable difficulty in crossing

¹ Mr. JAMES (*History of Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 344, note †) attributes to Dr. HENRY the assertion that "Philip was at Rouen in person;" but this is rather more than the precise statement amounts to. He says (*History of Britain*, vol. vii. p. 232), "he marched in person at the head of all the troops he could collect to Rouen, to secure that capital." Nevertheless, it is an error, as is also the statement following it, that Edward "appeared with his army in sight of that city," for he did not approach it nearer than four leagues.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxiv.

the Seine, and the van of his army had had a sharp encounter with the burghers of Amiens, who were marching in considerable force to join Philip de Valois at St. Denis. The citizens were completely discomfited, and as they had determined not to go to their monarch empty-handed, they afforded much valuable booty to their victors. Edward effected a passage with all his army on the 16th of August, and advanced upon Beauvais, but it was found to be too strongly defended to obtain by assault. After attempting one of the gates, he marched away, taking up his quarters, for one night, in a magnificent abbey in the neighbourhood, called St. Messien. The next morning he was once more on his march, and happening to cast a glance over the district through which he had passed, he saw the venerable structure in flames that had given him shelter the previous night. It was too frequently the custom of invaders in the fourteenth century to destroy indiscriminately—extermination with the sword without distinction of age, sex, or profession, and the most complete destruction of every kind of edifice, distinguished the march of a hostile force in an enemy's country. But it seems to have been the desire of the king of England to establish a system of tactics that dispensed with all unnecessary violence. To diminish as much as possible the resources of his opponent was a principle in chivalrous warfare that he could not depart from, but he gave frequent orders to spare every building dedicated to a sacred purpose, and had often interfered to stay the effusion of blood; his humanity was far from being properly responded to by his followers, who were but too inclined to retaliate, when it was in their power, for the insults and injuries they and their countrymen had endured at the hands of Philip's subjects. The king of England, however, in this instance gave a fearful evidence of the sincerity of his intentions, by immediately commanding twenty of the incendiaries to be hanged.¹ Whilst in the neighbourhood of Beauvais,

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxiv.

Edward received a message from his adversary, offering him battle on the following Thursday, Saturday, or Sunday, between St. Germain le Pre and Valgecart de la Paris, provided he would refrain from ravaging the country. He answered that Philip, both by destroying the bridges and by not approaching when he waited three days for him at Poissy, had so long evaded a battle that he had forfeited all claim to have such proposition considered, saddled with such conditions, but he expressed his readiness to give battle whenever there could be no doubt of Philip's intention to fight.¹ He then proceeded to Poix, a handsome town in Picardy, with two castles, in which Sir John Chandos and Sir Ralph Basset rescued from the infuriated soldiery two handsome daughters of the lord of Poix, who were about to undergo a fate worse than death. In order more effectually to secure their honour, they brought them to the king, who, in the true spirit of chivalry, entertained them most graciously: he inquired whither they desired to go; they replied, "to Corbie;" to which place they were immediately, safely and honourably, conducted. The inhabitants of this town, in return for this act of generosity, rose on a small detachment of the English that, when the main army continued its march, had been left in Poix to receive ransoms, and would have slaughtered them to a man, had not an alarm been given, which brought back the rear-guard to their assistance. The infuriated men so avenged their fallen comrades, that very few of the perfidious people escaped; the town was given to the flames, and the castles razed to the ground.² Notwithstanding this provocation, at the next place at which he took up his quarters, Airaines, the king strictly commanded his men, under pain of death, to do no harm to the town or its inhabitants, either by theft or otherwise.³

Edward remained at Airaines, endeavouring to discover some means of crossing the river Somme, the bridges having been broken down, and the fords guarded by

¹ MS. ACTA EDWARDI FILII, EDWARDI TERTII. Cited by BARNES.

² FROISSART, chap. CXXIV.

³ *IBID.*

strong detachments of the enemy. His position was becoming critical. Bodies of the enemy in considerable strength appeared in every direction. Philip was at Amiens with an overpowering force, employing all the means in his power to secure, with little peril to himself, the annihilation of the English army, by forcing it into a corner between the Somme and the Seine,¹ and there confining it, till Edward and his gallant followers were either starved into a surrender, or could be attacked, when so weakened by privation as to fall an easy prey to his well-fed legions. Edward sent his marshals to endeavour to force a passage across the river; but after having proceeded along its banks as far as Piquigny, and making several unsuccessful attempts, they returned with a report that towards Amiens the passage was impracticable.² The masses of armed peasantry increasing, and a powerful force under James of Bourbon threatening his rear, Edward found it necessary to evacuate Airaines,³ and with the intention of attacking Abbeville, after hearing mass, before sunrise, he made a demonstration in that direction.⁴ He came before Oisemont, where a great number of the country people had entrenched them-

¹ French authors describe the present position of Edward's army as being blocked up between the French army, the ocean, and the Somme.—*Histoire Ancienne et Moderne d'Abbeville et de son arrondissement. Par F. C. LOUANDRE*, 8vo. Abbeville, 1832, p. 115. The paper entitled "*An Inquiry into the Existing Narratives of the Battle of Cressy, with some Account of the Localities, Traditions, and Remains. By George Frederick Beltz, Esq. K.H. F.R.A. Lancaster Herald*," appears to have been drawn up from materials afforded by M. Louandre and other contemporary French writers.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 171.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxv. Pont Remi was well defended by several knights and a numerous body of the inhabitants, and the assailants were beaten off. They were repulsed also at Long Pre and at Piquigny.—DE SISMONDI, *Hist. des Français*, tom. x.

³ FROISSART says that the English left Airaines in such haste, that the French, on their arrival, found "grand, foison de pourveances, chairs, en hastes, pains et pâtés en fours, vins en tonneux et en barils, et moult de tables mises que les Anglais avoient laissées."

⁴ A French author states that Edward, advancing to "les monts de Caubert" to reconnoitre the position of Abbeville, with only 200 horse, thought it necessary to retreat before a certain Colart de Ver and some armed rustics; and that Edward's marshals were repulsed from Abbeville, after losing 500 men, in an attack upon the gates of that town.—MS. DE FORMENTIN.

selves ; but they could not stand against the fierce assaults of the English men-at-arms, who obtained possession of the town after a short struggle.¹ Edward took up his quarters at the great hospital, and sent numerous detachments to reconnoitre the country. One of these, after having advanced as far as the gates of St. Valery, with the garrison of which they had a skirmish, returned to Oisemont with several prisoners, inhabitants of Vimen. This being made known to the king, an idea presented itself to him, on which he immediately acted. He had the prisoners brought before him, and offered either of them 100 pieces of gold, besides the liberation of himself and twenty of his companions, to lead him to a place where he and his army could pass the Somme.² It fortunately happened that one of the peasants knew of a ford, and, what was still more desirable, had no objection to point it out to the king of England. Gobin Agache, whose name has furnished to his countrymen a convenient target for every species of execration, was speedily called upon to fulfil his qualifications as a guide. He led his English friends to a ford but little known, situated at the most prominent part of a long strip of chalk cliffs above the village of Port, called Blanquetaque,³ where Edward arrived about five o'clock in the morning, on the 24th of August, and as the tide was then at the flood, he was obliged to wait several hours before he could attempt a passage. Whilst, during this period, employed in marshalling his men on the strand, he discovered that Gondomar du Fay,⁴ a commander of some celebrity in the service of Philip de Valois, was stationed at the opposite bank with a force of 12,000 men ;

¹ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 118.

² *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 119. FROISSART, chap. cxxv., omits the gold ; but Edward must have been inclined to give a handsome reward, besides the liberty of his prisoner, for the means of escaping from his awkward situation.

³ "Ce que les marins nomment Blanquetaque, c'est-à-dire tache blanche, est le point le plus apparent de la falaise crayense qui forme au-dessus de Port une longue bande de couleur blanche," &c.—*Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 119.

⁴ FROISSART, chap. cxxvi. Some French writers, the continuator of Nangis, and the anonymous author of the *Chronicles of Flanders*, among

but he was not to be turned from his purpose, even by an obstacle apparently so formidable. After an animated address to his gallant associates, he commanded his marshals to plunge into the river with the cavalry, whilst his archers poured into the ranks of the Frenchmen one of their deadly showers of arrows. A part of Gondomar's horse very spiritedly dashed into the waves to meet their antagonists, and a fierce contest ensued in the bed of the river. "Let those who love me follow me!" exclaimed the king, and he was speedily in the thickest of the fight, well supported by men on whom such an appeal was not likely to be made in vain. His knights and men-at-arms made exertions corresponding with the importance of gaining the object they had in view, and bearing down all who disputed the passage, gained the opposite bank. The struggle continued for a considerable time, but the Frenchmen had got mixed up in confusion, the infantry with the cavalry, and the rest of the English army coming to the assistance of the marshals, Gondomar du Fay found himself forced to abandon his position, with a loss of 2000 men. He fled with his men, hotly pursued by the victors, by whom many were slain.¹

Fortunately for Edward, his rival did not arrive at the ford of Blanquetaque till the whole of his baggage had passed,² and his army was advancing triumphantly

others, with their usual justice towards their unsuccessful generals, accuse Gondomar du Fay of cowardice, forgetting, as the baron de Constant somewhat sententiously remarks, that he was a Frenchman (*Bataille de Cressy, Marche et Position des Armées Françaises et Anglaises Rectifiées*. Abbeville p. 3). But the best accounts concur in stating he fought whilst he perceived a chance of doing any good by continuing the contest. This treatment of their countryman is in the same spirit which directed M. Louandre to pronounce, that Edward made his triumphant progress through France more like an adventurer than an able general (*Hist. of Abbeville*, p. 119). There will be no great difficulty in proving that to his remarkable military genius Edward owed the signal discomfiture he was ultimately enabled to give his powerful antagonist. Indeed, the baron Seymour de Constant, in the sundry ingenious excuses he has put forth for the defeat of the French army on this occasion, appears inclined to acknowledge Edward's abilities as a general.

¹ ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 138.

² ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 138. M. Louandre states, that James of

towards Noyelles, and at this time the tide prevented his passage. Observing this, the king of France marched his 100,000 men to Abbeville, intending to cross the Somme by the Pont de Talance, where, instead of at once pursuing his enemy sword in hand, he passed two days in acts of devotion, which interval the king of England turned to good account.¹ He did not fail to reward Gobin Agache, as he had promised. He made him a present of an excellent horse and 100 gold nobles, and gave him and his friends their liberty. He next attacked the village and castle of Noyelles, which, though well defended, were carried by assault. The village was given to the flames, and the castle would have shared its fate, had not its possessor, stating herself to be the daughter of the late count d'Artois, implored the intercession, with the king of England, of Sir Geoffrey de Harcourt, and the building was preserved.² Detachments of the English army spread themselves over the country, and obtained some important advantages. Edward, avoiding the marshy ground on his left, advanced to Titre, and thence to La Motte Bulleux, by a green lane (*chemin vert*), which joined the highroad at La Motte Bulleux, on which he continued till he reached Marcheville, whence a direct road led to Cressy.³

It has been the opinion of most writers on this subject, that the king of England entertained a design of passing into Flanders, and so escaping the superior forces of Philip de Valois; but there are much better reasons for believing he never thought of any thing of the kind. In the answer to his adversary's conditional challenge, he stated that he would not be dictated to as to when or where he should give him battle, but that battle he decidedly would give him when he thought proper. His adventurous spirit was opposed

Bourbon arrived at the ford before Edward's rear-guard could pass, attacked them with great loss, and captured a part of the baggage.—*Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 126. FROISSART, chap. cxxvi., only says that the attack on the rear was made by a detachment of light horse.

¹ *Bataille de Cressy*, p. 8.

² FROISSART asserts that neither the village nor the castle was attacked.

³ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 124; *Bataille de Cressy*, p. 9.

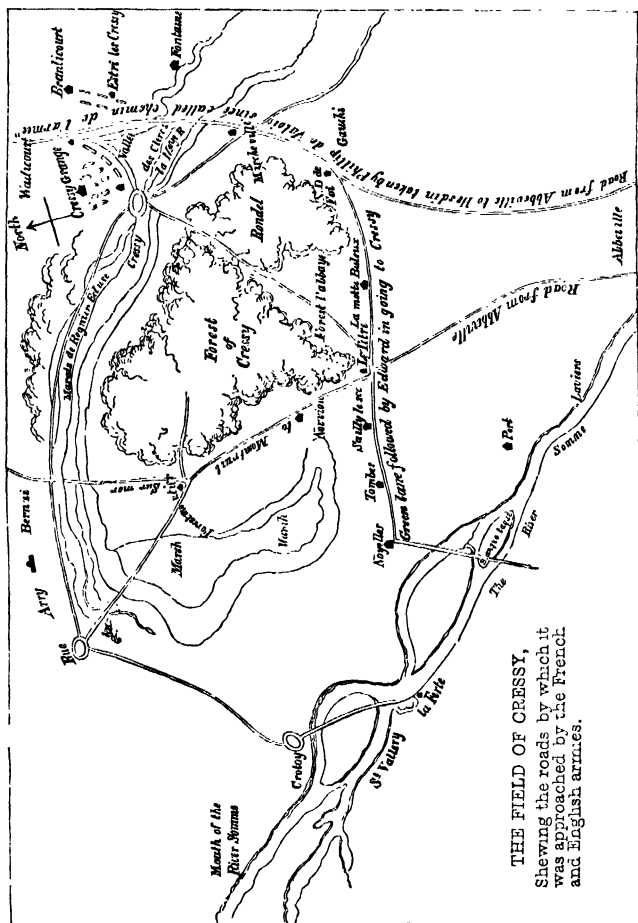
to any thing that appeared like shrinking from a contest, and, with a full knowledge of the numerical superiority of his enemy, he was too good a general to risk a battle without endeavouring to obtain some advantage which would lessen the prodigious inequality between the contending armies. He had determined to risk an engagement, but he very carefully sought out a position in which he could fight to the best advantage. He had his own reasons for selecting the province of Ponthieu for his battle-field — reasons which could not fail of exerting a powerful influence over many of his followers, as well as himself. Froissart appears to have been in possession of his intentions, by making him, on approaching Cressy, address his captains to the following effect:—" ' Let us post ourselves here; for we will not go farther before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot, as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage-portion; and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary, Philip de Valois.' On account," continues the chronicler, " of his not having more than an eighth part of the forces which the king of France had," his marshals fixed upon the most advantageous situation, and the army went and took possession of it.¹

The situation the marshals selected, of course under the direction of their monarch, displayed great military capacity. The army crossed the insignificant river Maye, on the bridge of the castle of Cressy, taking up a position upon the heights on its right bank, the right wing covered by the town of Cressy and the river Maye, the left extending in the direction of Wadicourt, and the front having before it a hollow called *La Vallée des Clercs*.² This excellent situation, however, had a weak point; for although it was defended on the side of Cressy by many sheltered curtains, placed one above another, ladderwise, there was a probability of its being accessible when there should

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxvi.

² *Bataille de Cressy*, p. 19.

exist a greater distance between the army and the town, and be turned perhaps on the side of Wadicourt.



The king, to obviate this defect, caused his left to be barricaded with palisades and wagons, leaving an open-

ing to go out or come in when it might be necessary ; placed his baggage behind him, in the thicket to the left on the road from Cressy to Ligescourt, strengthening the wood with fences, and thus made his post a spacious fortified camp, which was, moreover, protected by the little river Maye, that flows into the valley of Cressy.¹

The plan on the opposite page, reduced from the one which accompanies the little work of the Baron de Constant, will greatly assist the reader in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the line of march pursued by both armies.

Edward had with him not more than 32,000 combatants—his original force having been reduced to this number—and he had now to dispose of them so that they might act upon the enemy in the most effective manner. The result proved how admirably he calculated his means of offence. His archers, which are said to have formed nearly one-half of his entire force, were placed in the most favourable situation for using their destructive weapons with the most deadly effect. They were ranged in bodies, one above another, on the heights, while a powerful division of men-at-arms occupied Cressy.²

Having completed his arrangements, the king gave a banquet, on the eve of the battle for which he had so ably prepared, to his most distinguished captains, and it appears to have been a very pleasant entertainment. The less noble portion of his followers passed the time in furbishing and repairing their armour. On taking leave of his guests, the king remained with only the officers of his household. He retired into his oratory, and, falling on his knees before the altar, prayed to God, that if he should combat his enemies on the morrow, he might come off with honour. The supplication, we have every reason to believe, was not idly made. About midnight he retired to rest ; and rising early

¹ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 109. FROISSART, chap. cxxvii., says that Edward enclosed a large park near a wood, in the rear of his army, in which he placed all his baggage, waggons, and horses.

² *Hist. d'Abbeville*, p. 129.

next morning, he and the prince of Wales heard mass and took the communion. His example was followed by the majority of his army, who confessed their sins, and made every proper preparation for leaving the world, in case they should not escape the many perils of the day. After mass, the king ordered his men to arm themselves, and assemble on the ground he had selected. They accordingly appeared in three divisions; the first consisting of about 800 men-at-arms, 2000 archers, and 1000 Welshmen, which was placed under the command of the prince of Wales; the second possessed the same number of men-at-arms and 1200 archers, and was led by the earl of Northampton; and the third, composed of 700 men-at-arms and 2000 archers, was under the command of the king.¹

Edward was ready for the battle; for his marshals, having at daybreak made a *reconnaissance* in the direction in which they expected the enemy would approach, captured in the Bois de Marcheville four French knights, sent by their monarch to inspect his position. They were taken to the king's camp, who extracted from them the important intelligence that Philip de Valois had arrived at Abbeville, and that he intended attacking the king of England in the course of the day.² The trumpet sounded to form the line of battle, and Edward mounting a small palfrey³ rode through the ranks. He is described as wearing neither armour nor casque—the most conspicuous part of his dress being a hood and a green velvet doublet woven in gold.⁴ Bearing a white staff, and with a joyous countenance, in which the most timid beheld an assurance of success, he addressed his men, both in an encouraging and an

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxvii. M. Louandre seems surprised by Edward shewing the anxiety he did at such a time to secure the holiest offices of religion. He says, "Cet ambitieux, qui allait verser des flots de sang pour une quarelle absurde, voulut communier avant de combattre."—*Hist. d'Abbeville*, p. 131. That his quarrel was absurd every disinterested reader must doubt; and for the effusion of blood Philip de Valois at least shares with him the responsibility.

² *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 129.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxvii.

⁴ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 130.

entreating tone, that took the form of an earnest appeal to them to guard his honour and defend his right. "He spoke so sweetly, and with such a cheerful aspect," says a respectable authority, "that had any one been dispirited, he must have been inexpressibly comforted by seeing and hearing him."¹ When he had thus visited every portion of his force it was near ten o'clock, and he retired to his own division, previously ordering every man to eat heartily, and not to forget to refresh himself with a cup of wine. These commands were fully and promptly attended to; after which the men returned to their battalions. Seating themselves on the ground, and placing their helmets and weapons within reach, they waited, in the fullest enjoyment of their strength and spirits, the arrival of the enemy.²

Some hours elapsed before the French army came in sight, but when this was manifest, the quiet and apparently slumbering Englishmen rose from their lairs, and seizing their weapons in the most animated manner, expressed their gratification at the appearance of their foes. "No cries, no tumult;" shouted the king;³ and instantly the most perfect order was restored throughout the ranks, and they silently watched the approach of the immense multitude that, as it might have seemed to an indifferent spectator, came sweeping on to overwhelm the small force drawn up to oppose them. Philip de Valois had strained every nerve to procure such an armament as in his opinion could not fail to annihilate the daring invaders of his territories. He had summoned his connexions, his vassals, and allies, to aid him with horse and foot; he had procured the assistance of a powerful body of Genoese arbalisters, or cross-bowmen, who were expected to be a match for the dreaded English archers; he was also attended by such a host of light troops, composed of what must be called the militia of the country, and had taken such pains to have them well appointed, that he could

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxvii.

² Ibid.

³ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 131.

boast of commanding one of the finest armies the sovereigns of France had ever brought into the field.¹

Nearly the whole of the aristocracy of France, with many distinguished foreign princes and nobles, might have been found in the armed masses Philip was leading against his adversary. There was John of Luxemburgh, king of Bohemia, a veteran in diplomacy and in war, whose daughter was married to the dauphin, and whose son, Charles, elected king of the Romans, was also present; James, king of Majorca; Albert, elector of the empire; Otho, duke of Austria, and Louis, earl of Flanders; our old acquaintance, John of Hainault; Ralph, duke of Lorraine, Philip's nephew, who had distinguished himself against the Moors; the duke of Saxony; and the princes of the blood, John of Normandy, the king's son, Charles of Alençon, his brother, and Peter of Bourbon.² Consequently they must have presented an extraordinary display of banners and costly equipments; and the attractions of the picture could not but have been greatly increased by the curious mixture of nations then and there assembled. There were Bohemians, Germans, and Luxemburghers, Hainaulters, Italians, Picards, and Normans. To this strange medley of races Edward could only oppose his trusty countrymen and a portion of useful infantry that had marched from the mountains of Wales. But there was this to be said in favour of the English army—if they were not entirely of one tongue, they were of one mind—which could not be said of their opponents, for every officer seemed to act as if he had an independent command.

As Philip approached with his immense force of nearly 120,000 men, in three divisions, he beheld the flames of one of the villages the English had fired, which, with the intelligence that reached him about the same period, of the capture of his reconnoitring party, did not soften his feelings towards them.³ He

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxii.

² *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 123.

³ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 134.

advanced to the plains of Titre,¹ and halted at Marcheville: and, the rising ground shutting his adversaries' forces from his view, sent forward four of his knights to examine their position.² They departed on that errand, and on their return, one of them, a knight of approved experience in war, gave such a report of their disposition, as induced Philip, at his suggestion, to defer fighting till next day, to allow a sufficient interval of repose for his troops;³ and he immediately gave orders for the vanguard, which was in full march towards the king of England's position, to halt. But either from not comprehending, or not choosing to comprehend, the order, the count d'Alençon, who commanded the second battalion, pressed forward, which the vanguard observing, imagined that the order they had just heard had been countermanded, and resumed its march. D'Alençon now advanced still more eagerly, and the nobles appeared as if they were running races with each other to be the first in contact with their enemy. The consequence was, that every appearance of discipline was abandoned, and they arrived before the English army in the greatest disorder.⁴

Edward carefully scanned the formidable host as it approached, and observed sufficient to give him additional confidence in his small but well-disposed army; he addressed his troops in an impressive speech in which, after extolling the many proofs they had given of their courage, excited them with the hope of possessing a reward worthy of their labours in the overthrow of the wealthy nobles of France, and the great princes, whose embroidered banners were so proudly flaunting the air among the vast multitude

¹ *L'Histoire des Mayeurs d'Abbeville.*

² *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 135.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxviii.

⁴ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 136. "As soon as the foremost rank saw them (the English) they fell back at once, in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then space and room enough for them to have passed forward, had they been willing so to do: some did so, but others remained shy. All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, when they were come within three leagues of their enemies,

who crowded the valley below them.¹ Then presenting his young son, a gallant and handsome youth in his sixteenth year, on whom he placed a rich black cuirass, though the young prince was in a suit of bronzed steel, he conferred on him the office of commander-in-chief for that day,² and then retired to a tower at a little distance whence he could command a distinct view of the whole field of battle.³

Philip discovering that it was impossible to evade a contest, pushed forward his forces above the sources of the river Maye, extended them to the right, and placed them in order of battle — his left before Fontaines, Estrees in the rear of his centre, and his right resting on the farm of Branlicourt;⁴ and the engagement shortly commenced. As this great battle was fought and won by the prince of Wales — his father, from a chivalrous desire, to allow his heroic son all the honour to be gained in that memorable day, refraining from taking any part in the conflict — the further details properly belong to the *Life of Edward of Woodstock*, where they will be found. It may, however, be thought desirable to give here a summary of the result.

The position so skilfully chosen by the king of England for his archers, commanded the crowded masses of the enemy, whilst the former were in comparative safety. The consequence was, that the French vanguard, composed of the Genoese arbalisters, were slain by thousands, and shortly fell into inextricable confusion, which the second division, under d'Alençon, made worse, by attempting to break through them, to attack the English in their position.⁵ The deadly

drew their swords, bawling out 'Kill! kill!' and with them were many great lords that were eager to make show of their courage. There is no man, unless he had been present, that can imagine or describe truly the confusion of that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were out of number." — FROISSART, chap. cxxviii.

¹ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 131.

² *Ibid.* p. 130.

³ M. MAZAS (*Vies des Grands Capitaines Français*) says that Edward suspended the great standard of England.

⁴ *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 137; *Bataille de Cressy*.

⁵ FROISSART, chap. cxxix.

shower of arrows still continuing, both cavalry and infantry suffered dreadfully. When the alarm and confusion was at its height amongst them, the knights and men in the different divisions of Edward's army attacked them with intense fury. Having defeated with great slaughter the first and second battalions, they fell upon the last, commanded by Philip in person, with the same spirit; and after a most desperate conflict, succeeded in breaking through it; and then the whole of the survivors of that fierce struggle on the French side took to flight, and fortunate were they who escaped the eager pursuit of the victors. The overthrow thus given to Philip de Valois by his rival was most complete—his immense army was totally annihilated and disorganised; and of the imposing array of nobility he had so lately gathered around him, a few spiritless fugitives alone remained; the bravest and the best lay stretched upon the fearful field of Cressy.¹

Edward remained in the neighbourhood of the scene of his great triumph long enough only to see that proper respect was paid to the bodies of the many distinguished men who had fallen in the battle, for on the following Monday the army was in full march, across that tract of country called the Boulonnais, halting one day at Whitsand; and on the 3d of September appeared before the walls of Calais, a strong town, possessed of the means of making a stout defence. Nothing appears to have been done that day—the English possibly not having reached their destination till

¹ BARNES, p. 359. The number of killed, by different authorities, has been stated to consist of the king of Bohemia, eleven princes, eighty bannerets, 1200 knights, 4000 men-at-arms, and 30,000 other combatants.—ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 109; KNIGHTON, p. 2588; WALSHINGHAM, p. 166; FROISSART, chap. cxxi. The reader may also consult with advantage *Histoire Généalogique des Comtes de Ponthieu et Mayeurs d'Abbeville*, par PERE IONACE; *Vies des Grands Capitaines Français du Moyen Age*, par ALEX. MAZAS; and GAILLARD's *Histoire de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre*. It is as well to apprise him that, in each of these works he will find Edward's wars in France wear an aspect very different to that given by the authorities with which he is more familiar.

it was too late to commence operations ; every man, from the king to the meanest groom, sleeping that night in the open fields. The possession of a place of such importance so near to his own dominions, and affording such facilities for attacking France to advantage, the king of England regarded as exceedingly desirable ; and he must have been perfectly well aware, that if it was to be obtained, no opportunity so favourable was likely to present itself as that afforded by the stunning blow which he had just given the chivalry of France. Impressed with this idea, Edward early the next morning summoned the city to surrender to him as rightful king of France. John of Vienne, an experienced and brave soldier, had the command of the garrison, and sent back a spirited reply.¹ Edward immediately made preparations for a siege ; and these on a scale, which shewed his determination to take the place if it held out for a dozen years. Whilst doing all in his power to weaken the enemy, he was remarkably attentive to the comforts of his own troops. "On the king's arrival before Calais," says a chronicler, who enjoyed unusual facilities for obtaining the most authentic information, "he laid siege to it, and built between it and the river and bridge, houses of wood. They were laid out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom ; and in this town of the king's, there was every thing necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets every Wednesday and Saturday for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise ; cloth, bread, and every thing else, which came from England and Flanders, might be had there, as well as all comforts, for money."²

¹ BARNES' *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 366.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxii. The expenses of the king of England during the siege of Calais must have been enormous. A curious document which has been preserved, whilst giving accurate details of Edward's expenses, affords a curious view of the value of every branch of military service. It is taken from the accounts of Walter Wetewange, the treasurer of the royal household, and is described in Latin as the retinue of Edward the Third, in his army in Normandy, France, and before Calais, in the twentieth year of his reign. The different items are thus enumerated,

Edward had commanded the assistance of a powerful fleet;¹ and on its appearance Calais was most strictly blockaded, both by land and sea. The besiegers found abundance of provisions of every kind, for, besides frequent supplies from the Flemings and their own countrymen — as though fulfilling the proclamation, issued by the king on the 6th, inviting merchants to bring stores of all kinds for the use of his army — they obtained vast quantities in various foraging expeditions made by their detachments into the neighbouring country.² The supplies of the besieged being entirely cut off, they began to feel straitened; and the governor, to diminish the evils he found he could not remove, came to the desperate determination of getting rid of all the useless mouths in the place. 1700 poor people,

giving the wages of every person in the army, from the prince to the humblest artificer, at *per diem* :—

1	<i>Dominus Princeps</i>	The prince of Wales, 20s. . .
1	<i>Episcopus Dunelmensis</i> . .	The bishop of Durham, 6s. 8d.
13	<i>Comites</i>	Earls, 6s. 8d.
44	<i>Barones et baneretti</i>	Barons and bannerets, 4s. . .
1046	<i>Milites</i>	Knights, 2s.
4022	<i>Scutiferi, constabularii, centenarii, et ductores</i>	Esquires, constables (commanders of small detachments), captains and leaders, 1s.
5104	<i>Vintenarii et sagittarii equites</i>	Petty officers and mounted archers, 6d.
355	<i>Pauncenarii</i>	6d.
500	<i>Hobelarii</i>	Light horsemen, 6d.
15480	<i>Sagittarii pedites</i>	Archers on foot, 3d.
	<i>Cementarii, carpentarii, fabri, ingeniatores, pavillonarii, minarii, armatores, gunnatores, et artillarii</i>	Masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armorers, gunners, and artillerymen, 1s., 10d., 6d., and 3d.
4474	<i>Wallenses pedites, unde ducenti vintenarii, 4d.; residui, 2d.</i>	Welsh foot, 200 petty officers at 4d. and the rest at 2d. .

The total of the expense from the 4th of June to the 21st of October of the following year. . . . £127101 2 9

Exclusive of the nobles, the army amounted to 31,294, whilst in the naval service, masters, captains, mariners, and boys, for 700 vessels of all descriptions, 16,000 men were employed.

¹ RYMER'S *Fædera*, tom. ii. part iv. p. 204.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxxii.

men, women, and children, were therefore thrust beyond the city walls to starve, or be slain by the English, whichever fate their foes chose to inflict. But they found in the king of England a most noble enemy, as he had more than once proved before. Instead of causing them to be driven back at the point of the sword amongst their famishing countrymen, as the laws of warfare would have allowed, he permitted them to pass unmolested. Discovering the miserable state to which they had been reduced as they proceeded through the ranks of his army, the king feasted them all handsomely, and presented each with two "sterlings" (small pieces of silver), which sent them on their way with the most grateful acknowledgments for such unexampled generosity.¹

It has been stated that Edward made use of cannon at the siege of Calais, with more truth than appears in the assertion that similar engines were employed at the battle of Cressy, which is easily proved to be an error, as it is impossible they could have been carried over the ford of Blanche Tache. Froissart distinctly states that Edward made no attack on Calais,² his object being to starve the place into a surrender, unless the king of France should march to the assistance of the besieged. But Philip de Valois was in no condition to attempt any thing of the kind. The vengeance he could not wreak on his foe, he sought to direct against his friends, and Gondomar du Fay had a narrow escape of falling a victim. Both himself and his people had received so signal a humiliation that they wanted spirit for any combined movement against an adversary who had proved himself so formidable; but he had many brave men at his disposal, and several

¹ M. de Brequigny, endeavouring to diminish the well-earned fame of Edward the Third, has thought proper to call in question the accuracy of Froissart; but his arguments are unsupported by evidence.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxxii. In chap. cxxxix., however, he makes quite a different statement, by which the attacks appear to have been both spirited and frequent; but though he mentions the employment of artillery; nothing is said of engines differing so entirely from those commonly used in sieges at that time as cannon: and as he says that the inhabitants did not suffer from them, they must have been unskilfully served.

distinguished commanders anxious to retrieve the reverse his arms had experienced. Philip, however, was far from being in a situation to employ them to any great advantage. It was not only the victorious king of England, with his army before Calais, that he had to contend against. In Brittany and in Aquitaine the English had also obtained important advantages,¹ and he could not satisfy himself as to what particular point he ought to march. Under these perplexing circumstances he contented himself by sending assistance to the towns in the neighbourhood of Calais to prevent their falling into the power of the enemy, and to keep his roving detachments in check.² He again had recourse to his familiar weapon diplomacy; and, in the first place, strove hard, with the assistance of his unsteady friend, the duke of Brabant, to procure assistance from the Flemings, but they could not be induced to make war upon the king of England, with whom they were then endeavouring to cement a closer alliance by means of a marriage between his daughter and their young lord. In the next place, he used every argument he had at his command to induce the young king of Scotland to invade England, pointing out to him the apparently undefended state of that country, in consequence of the absence of all its disposable force. Enticed by the prospect of marching as a conqueror, even to the gates of London, and having obtained considerable assistance in money and arms from his desperate ally, David the Bruce, levied an immense army, and carried fire and sword across the borders. They were, however, stopped at Durham. Queen Philippa and her counsellors had been actively and spiritedly employed in taking measures for the defence of the kingdom; and in the absence of more qualified commanders, several of the most distinguished prelates put themselves at the head of different divisions of such an army as could be raised and marched to give battle to

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxxiii.—v. cxli.; ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 114.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxxix.

the invaders.¹ The two armies drew up in order of battle at a place called Neville's Cross, on the 17th of October, 1346, and an engagement commenced at nine o'clock in the morning, which ended, in about three hours, with the entire destruction of the Scottish army, with the exception of the broken and scattered remnant who succeeded in escaping the destroying swords of the victors, and gaining their own country.² Among the numerous captives was the king of Scotland, who shortly afterwards found himself marching through London, but in a very different situation to what he had anticipated—he was being conveyed as a prisoner to the Tower.³

The blockade of Calais must have been a dull business to the adventurous king of England and his gallant followers, for with the exception of an occasional skirmish with the besieged, who made a spirited defence, or with detached parties of the enemy lurking about the neighbourhood, their employment must have afforded little entertainment. Nevertheless, one or two occurrences enlivened the scene. One was the arrival in the camp of the brave Sir Walter Manny, who had, as was usual with him, been displaying his extraordinary military talent and love of enterprise, in Gascony, and was received by the king with those proofs of his regard he was always ready to confer upon that distinguished captain.⁴ But great

¹ FROISSART (chap. cxxxvii.) enumerates the archbishops of Canterbury and York, with the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, as commanding battalions. He estimates the English army at less than 12,000 and the Scottish army at 40,000.

² *Ibid.* He states the number of slain to be about 15,000.

³ He surrendered, after having been twice wounded, to John Cope-land, a squire of Northumberland, who immediately carried him out of the press, and, accompanied by a few friends, rode to a strong castle, about fifteen miles distant, in which he held him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the queen, till he could surrender him to his sovereign.—FROISSART, chap. cxxxviii.

⁴ Sir Walter Manny, through the influence of a Norman knight who had been his prisoner, obtained from the king of France a passport to travel from Arguillon to Calais; but whilst prosecuting his journey, Philip de Valois could not resist the temptation of imprisoning so distinguished an enemy, and would undoubtedly have put him to death, had not the duke of Normandy in a very emphatic way expressed his disgust

as was the gratification this visit produced, it must have been much exceeded by the arrival of queen Philippa, with considerable reinforcements, and the welcome news of the victory of Neville's Cross. The intelligence had, however, previously been brought by John Copeland, who had had the good fortune to take prisoner the king of Scots, and although the queen was much offended by his refusing to deliver him at her mandate, Copeland made his peace with the king, who was in too gracious a mood to find fault. When Edward beheld him he took him by the hand, and said,—“Ha! welcome, my squire, who by his valour hath captured my adversary the king of Scotland.” John Copeland, bending his knee, replied,—“If God out of his great kindness hath given me the king of Scotland, and permitted me to conquer him in arms, no one ought to be jealous of it; for God can, when he pleases, send his grace to a poor squire as well as to a great lord. Sir, do not take it amiss, if I did not surrender him to the orders of my lady the queen, for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not to her, except it be through choice.” The king excused him, gave him directions how to dispose of his prisoner, and richly rewarded him for the important service he had rendered.¹

As the queen brought with her a great number of ladies anxious to behold their relatives, the camp of the besiegers suddenly became a scene of the most brilliant festivity. The report also of Edward's successes at home and abroad made many of his old allies of Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and Germany, travel to Flanders to pay their respects to him. Among these was the young lord Robert de Namur,

of such treachery. The king subsequently pursued a totally different line of conduct, inviting Sir Walter to dine with him, and presenting him with gifts of great value; but on king Edward, on his arrival in Calais, pointing out the object for which they were proffered, Sir Walter returned them.—FROISSART, chap. cxxxiv.

¹ He was created a knight banneret, with an annuity of 500*l.* till he could have lands settled upon him of the same value. He had also a pension of 100*l.* per annum, on the condition of furnishing twenty men-at-arms. Besides which he was made warden of Berwick, sheriff of Northumberland, and keeper of Roxburgh castle.—RYMER *Fœdera*.

on his return from the Holy Land, where he had been doing good service against the infidel. The noble qualities of the king of England so completely won his esteem, that he gladly excepted service under him, and received a pension of 300*l.* per annum.¹

The blockade continued to drag on for several months, the besieged suffering great privations, but occasionally, by some ingenious artifice, obtaining temporary succour. Edward at last put a stop to this by building a kind of wooden castle between the town and the sea, which effectually prevented assistance of any kind coming, as it had done, by water; and the inhabitants began to experience all the horrors of famine.² Philip was at last urged to make an effort for their relief, and after employing all the resources of despotism to procure men and money, he marched to Calais at the head of an army, which some writers have estimated at 200,000 men. He approached to within a mile of the English camp, encamping on the heights called Sandgate, near Boulogne, but found the position unassailable, for there were but two roads of approach, the one higher up, over an impassable marsh where there was but one bridge, which was well guarded by the earl of Lancaster, who had lately arrived from England with reinforcements, and the other was by the downs along the sea-shore, which were protected by a powerful fleet, well furnished with all the engines then in use, drawn up close in shore. Philip succeeded, with 1500 men, in overpowering thirty archers left to protect an outpost, but he soon perceived from the admirable dispositions of his rival, this was likely to be the extent of his success. Whilst pondering on this unfavourable state of things,³ his zealous friends,

¹ Robert of Namur was Froissart's great patron.

² FROISSART, chap. cxliii.

³ The besieged despatched a letter to the king of France, which was intercepted by the English. It was to the effect that they had ate every thing in the town, even to the horses, dogs, and cats; and that if relief did not shortly arrive, they would have no alternative but to eat each other. After reading this communication, Edward sent it to its destination, in the fullest conviction that the town was his own.—ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 156.

the two cardinals, once more made their appearance, and he gladly availed himself of their assistance in negotiating a peace. Edward listened to their proposals, but finding Philip offered nothing but the restoration of Guienne on the terms it had been held by Edward the First, with the earldom of Ponthieu,—a less extent of French territory than he already possessed ; and discovering, also, that Philip was taking an unfair advantage of this negotiation by attempting to throw supplies into the besieged city, he sent the peacemakers back to their employer.

There were many daring spirits in the French army worthy of a better king, and they occasionally rode from their lines to tilt with such adventurous English knights as they found at the outposts to oppose them. They appear to have infused something like manliness into their monarch's counsels ; for a deputation arrived at the English camp from the king of France, who, on presenting themselves before Edward, stated that they had been sent to inform him that the king of France very much desired to give him battle, but could not get at him, and wished that a certain number of experienced knights, on either side, should select a convenient field in the neighbourhood, where the two armies might fight.¹ This request required some consideration. Edward was sure of Calais,—it was impossible for Philip to save it, and it was scarcely reasonable to suppose that, after twelve months had been passed at an immense expense in carrying on the siege, he should leave his secure position to risk a battle with an army outnumbering his own by more than four to one. Nevertheless, with a spirit worthy of his reputation, Edward accepted the challenge,² and commissioners were appointed on both sides to select a proper field. The same evening he was reinforced by a body of 17,000 men, partly Fle-

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxliv.

² FROISSART makes him decline the challenge, but the letter of Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury (ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY), and the testimony of Thomas de la More, an eye-witness (STOW, p. 244), prove that it was accepted.

nings and partly Englishmen ;¹ but now Philip was far from being in the same inclination, and on the messengers arriving from Edward to arrange the proposed battle, he seemed to have forgotten all about it, and was intent upon a different negotiation.² In no slight degree astonished at this inconsistency, the English knights returned to their sovereign to state the result of their errand. Scarcely had they turned their backs when the most rapid preparations were secretly made for a retreat of the whole French force, and early the next morning the first intelligence of this movement was given to the English army by the burning tents of their enemies, which they had set on fire at their departure. Philip was by this time in full retreat towards Amiens; the English, however, contrived to fall on his rear, with some loss, and secure some of his baggage.

The brave defenders of Calais now found themselves without hope. They had been abandoned to their fate, and their obstinate defence, according to the usages of the times, could procure for them no consideration from their enemy. They had no alternative, however, but to throw themselves on his mercy. The governor wanted to know what terms would be allowed, but Edward insisted on unconditional surrender. Calais had, for a great number of years, been a den of thieves, who, making the sea their highway, robbed and murdered the crews of every English vessel that came in their way, and Edward

* ¹ Edward's land army before Calais was formed of the contingents furnished by the lords, in consequence of their fiefs, or by particular agreement with the king; and of foreign hired troops. The fleet was also formed of contingents furnished by the different ports of England, with auxiliary ships, and amounted in the whole to 737 vessels carrying 15,515 men. Lediard has published the particulars from a Cottonian MS. These vessels were mere boats, some of which carried but six men, and the largest but fifty-one.

² Mr. James (*Hist. Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 22) is charitable enough to suppose that the conduct of the French king "can only be attributed to the occasional hallucinations of insanity;" but this madness could not have been of a very desperate nature; for his actions shew an extraordinary regard for his own preservation. The monomania, if such it was, appears to have been of the same creditable kind as that species which of late years has been so common amongst genteel criminals.

was determined on making a fearful example of them. On the urgent intercessions of Sir Walter Manny, he promised that, if six of the principal citizens presented themselves to him for execution, with bare heads and feet, having ropes about their necks, and bearing the keys of the city, he would pardon the rest. Hard as these terms were, they were accepted; and Eustace de St. Pierre, a wealthy burgher, with five of his townsmen, accompanied by the gallant John de Brienne, the governor, set off from their homes, in the required condition, and made their appearance before their stern conqueror.¹ He noticed their humiliation without evincing the slightest commiseration: he was most probably thinking of the long arrear of crimes in the people of Calais, which called for punishment. Eustace de St. Pierre made an appeal to the king, which excited the sympathy

¹ Several French writers have endeavoured to throw discredit on Froissart's narrative of the siege of Calais, particularly as regards the devotion of Eustace de St. Pierre; but there are many reasons for preferring his authority to theirs. In the first place, if he was not present, he had his account from eye-witnesses, both English and Flemish; in the next, several material points in his statements are confirmed by Thomas de la More, an eye-witness; by Villani, a contemporary; by the MS. of St. Bertinus; and by contemporary documents; therefore the labours of M. de Brequigny (*Mémoires de l'Académie de Belles Lettres*, tom. xxxvii.) and those of M. Lévesque (*La France sous les Cinq Premiers Valois*, p. 518), among many others undertaken with the same end, are not likely to obtain much consideration from the impartial historian. "The Society of Antiquaries of the Morini," at St. Omer, some time back offered a gold medal for the best dissertation on the historic fact of the devotion of St. Pierre, of which several of their authors had doubted. There were two claimants for the prize — one maintaining Froissart's narrative, supported by the opinion of Rymer, Mezerai, Villaret, Henry, and others; the other taking a different view of the subject, accusing Froissart of dealing in romance, asserting that his *Chronicles* from 1326 to 1356 were founded on those of Jean Lebel, who was even of a more romantic turn than Froissart, and concluding by saying that history written by the inspiration of truth is preferable to that dictated by sentiment. The Society came to a determination, by a majority of fourteen against eleven, that the solution of the historical problem was not decided; but adjudged the medal to the latter writer, on account of the elegant composition of his work. Voltaire calls the devotion of St. Pierre "*un énorme ridicule*." Hume doubts the story, attributing to Froissart some mistake, "either from negligence, credulity, or a love of the marvellous." M. de Chateaubriand, treating of this subject, condemns the fashion of incredulity of the glory of their ancestors so prominent amongst his countrymen at the conclusion of the last century.

of all the nobles and knights who were spectators of the scene; but he replied only by ordering him and his companions for execution. Sir Walter Manny interceded for them, without success; but Edward found it impossible to be as regardless of the entreaties of his heroic son and his devoted queen, and all the offenders were pardoned. He was, however, not satisfied with merely granting these men their lives, he rewarded them with rich gifts, and for Eustace de St. Pierre, in particular, as if in admiration of his noble conduct, he provided, with a truly princely magnificence.¹ His generosity was extended to every inhabitant of Calais. All were well fed, and such as evinced an objection to swear fealty to him were allowed to proceed where they liked with whatever they could carry about them.²

On the day after the surrender, the 4th August, 1347, Edward, accompanied by the queen, the prince of Wales, and a gallant assemblage of nobles and knights, entered the conquered city, amid the clang of many trumpets, and the shouts of thousands of rejoicing voices. The banquet and the dance followed the toils of the protracted siege, and the walls which had so recently witnessed the despair of the famishing citizens, now echoed pleasant songs and hearty laugh-

¹ A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1837, vol. viii. p. 359, appears to throw doubt on the account given by Froissart of the condemnation of Eustace de St. Pierre, producing the document from *BYMER's Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 138, in which the king grants an annual pension of forty marks sterling, until, according to his station, he might otherwise be provided for. And for receiving this grant Eustace has suffered in reputation, but with no slight injustice. The English monarch characteristically bestowed his favours on a gallant enemy; and the brave burgher could not refuse his generosity without an appearance of churlishness.

² They were almost entirely neglected by the monarch, for their devotion to whom they had so long suffered, and had become voluntary wanderers from their native hearths. M. Levesque is anxious to shew that the king of France was not so regardless of these poor people as he has been represented; but what Froissart states has never been refuted. Lord Berners makes him say, "We think it was great pity of the burghesses and other men of the town of Calais, and women and children, when they were fain to forsake their houses, heritages, and goods, and to bear away nothing, and they had no restorement of the French king, for whose sake they lost all."

ter from a crowd of thoughtless revellers. But after a sufficient season for rejoicing, the king of England called the attention of his captains and counsellors to the necessity of securing his valuable conquest; and great care was taken to strengthen and improve the city, and people from England were invited by many enticing advantages to come and settle as citizens within its walls.

The queen, who is stated to have felt such compassion for the six burghers, obtained, a few days after their pardon, the confiscation of the houses which one of them, John d'Aire, possessed in Calais. Most of the other houses were bestowed on the English, who were invited thither by the king's letters, dated August 12; and these were granted on the express condition that they should be sold only to the English. It is not, however, to be imagined that the original possessors were all turned out; many such were bestowed on Frenchmen.

The two cardinals resumed their pacific labours, and Philip de Valois having been taught moderation, they met with little difficulty in establishing a truce, and a suspension of hostilities for ten months was proclaimed on the 28th of September. The terms of the treaty were, in many respects, similar to those of the treaty of Malestroit, especially in the important provision that all conquests should be retained by the present possessor. This matter settled so much to his satisfaction, Edward, after his queen had sufficiently recovered from giving birth to a daughter in the city her lord had so lately added to his territories, set sail with his family, and several of his gallant associates, for England, where, on the 12th of October, he succeeded in effecting a landing, after, as usual, being buffeted about by a tremendous storm.¹

¹ Edward appears to have submitted somewhat impatiently to this tiresome repetition of tempestuous weather; for he is represented by WALSINGHAM (*Hist.* p. 159), according to the quaint translation of JOSHUA BARNES, breaking out into the following expostulation: — "St. Mary, my blessed lady, what should be the meaning of this, that always in my passage for France the winds and seas befriend me, but in my return for England I meet nothing but adverse storms and destructive tempests!"

CHAPTER VII.

Edward's Popularity—His pecuniary Difficulties—Italian Money-Lenders — Edward offered the Imperial Crown — Ravages of the Plague in England—Love of Finery—Edward institutes the Order of the Garter — The original Knights — He again invades France — Challenges— He invades Scotland — London after the Victory of Poitiers — The captive Kings entertained by King Edward—David the Bruce returns to Scotland—Fruitless Negotiations for the Liberation of the King of France — Edward at the head of a powerful Army in France — March of the English Army—Edward again at the Gates of Paris—Miserable Condition of France—The Treaty of Bretigny.

THE rejoicings that welcomed the return of Edward to his kingdom were as heartfelt as they were universal. The war with France, in support of their monarch's claim to the French throne, had been popular with all classes of the English, notwithstanding the grinding exactions which had been levied for its support, and the absence of any decisive results from the enormous expenditure the quarrel was producing; but when all the advantages of the last campaign came before his faithful commons, and they became thoroughly aware of the considerable accessions of territory obtained by English valour in Poitou, Guienne, Saintonge, and Perigord; the destruction of that stronghold of pirates, so long the source of the most extensive depredations upon their commerce, and its change into a flourishing English colony—which could not fail of being of the greatest advantage to their Channel trade—and reflected on the not less agreeable humbling of their turbulent neighbours beyond the Tweed, the war was only less esteemed than the commander by whom it had been brought to so satisfactory an issue, and they testified their entire satisfaction by every means within their power. Edward did not fail to take advantage of this contented mood, by calling for a liberal contribution for the service of the state, and this, at least, may be said, it was not demanded before it was required.

Almost ever since his accession to the throne, the king had been engaged in a series of extraordinary undertakings that necessarily were saddled with extraordinary expenses. There was any thing rather than a flourishing exchequer to meet these demands; for neither Edward of Cærnarvon, nor his worthless consort, were persons likely to improve the finances of the country that had the misfortune to be governed by them.¹ Already, some allusion has been made to the efforts Edward the Third had recourse to, to satisfy the overwhelming claims which were accumulating upon him. These, however, were very inadequate, and he found himself obliged to have recourse to borrowing from the foreign merchants.² In the tenth year of his reign, his pecuniary embarrassments compelled him to empower commissioners to contract a loan in his name, for the considerable sum, in that day, of 60,000*l.*—he engaging to submit himself to the authority

¹ Isabella had been a borrower before she landed in England to wrest the throne from her husband; for, after his deposition, a bill of 20,000*l.* was drawn upon the exchequer for the discharge of debts she had contracted abroad (ROT. LIB. 20 EDW. II. m. 1); and on the 15th of December, in the last year of that unhappy monarch, the treasurer was commanded to pay 1300*l.* to the keeper of her wardrobe, to pay off a debt contracted by her when abroad (ROT. LIB. 20, m. 1). A month after Edward the Third's accession, the sum of 2000*l.* was paid out of the exchequer, for a similar sum borrowed by the queen abroad, and which was paid into her own hands. ROT. LIB. 20 EDW. II. m. 5.

² The Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence appear to have obtained the largest share of Edward's hazardous custom; to the former, letters patent were granted in the third year of his reign to reward them with 2000*l.*, to compensate for losses they sustained in advancing the king 500 marks for the expenses of his passage into France, and 7000*l.* for John of Hainault's services in the inglorious invasion of Scotland. In the following year they engaged to provide 1000 marks monthly, for one year, towards the expenses of the royal household, for satisfaction for which the old and new customs in London are assigned (CAL. ROT. PAT. p. 113). In the sixth year, they lent 6000*l.*, as the marriage-portion of the king's sister Eleanor (IBID.), the monarch promising a gift of 4000 marks as compensation for losses on former loans (ROT. PAT. 6 EDW. III. part i. m. 2). In the eleventh year, they received a bill for 20,000*l.*, for value received (ROT. LIB. EDW. III. m. 6). The Peruzzi had 37,000*l.* the same year (ROT. LIB. 2 EDW. III. m. 4 and m. 3). In the thirteenth year, Edward borrowed 24,500*l.*, from a merchant of Lucca (RYMERI *Fædera*). In the fourteenth, the king is found to be in the debt of two merchants of the company of the Leopardi 11,546*l.* 17*s.* And thus he went on, playing deeper every year.—*Archæologia*, vol. xviii.

of the pope's court to enforce his obligation. But even this assistance went such a little way towards the desired end, that the commissioners were empowered in similar terms to raise other loans of the several sums of 50,000*l.*, 40,000*l.*, 30,000*l.*, and 20,000*l.* This 200,000*l.*, doubtless, did good service, but the accommodation it afforded lasted not long, for two years afterwards, when Edward was at Antwerp, he appointed officers to negotiate a loan of 100,000 gold florins of Florence. These borrowings now began to increase very rapidly, whilst in the same ratio lenders became more difficult to be met with. At last it was found necessary to summon the merchants to treat respecting a loan, and to make them furnish it, by the threat of a very heavy penalty if they failed. The different companies of Italian merchants, the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Leopardi, who were the Rothchilds of their day, found the king of England getting deeper into their books. His payments became very irregular, and though sometimes an attempt was made in the way of compensation, they lost considerably by having his majesty for a customer. The king, on his return from his last campaign, was as much in want of money as ever, but his successes made so favourable an impression on the foreign loan contractors, that they advanced with a liberality they had ample reason to repent, notwithstanding they endeavoured to obtain something like good security for their loans.¹

¹ "This security," says Mr. BOND, in his admirable paper on the loan supplied by Italian merchants to the kings of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, "consisted sometimes in an assignment on a branch of the royal revenue for the amount received. In the year 4 Edw. III. all the customs of the kingdom were assigned to the Bardi of Florence, to hold for one year; they having undertaken to provide 1000 marks every month, for the expenses of the king's household. Sometimes a religious house was made a party in the bond; and, in some instances, the Italian merchants themselves became the king's securities to other companies of their countrymen for sums advanced by them. Frequently, in the reign of Edward the Third, the names of peers, and high officers of state, are subscribed to the king's letters of obligation; and in the fourteenth year of his reign, the earl of Derby was actually detained in confinement, in France, for debts in which he had been the king's security, until he was released by the company of the Leopardi, who advanced the sum required."—*Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 239.

Edward's expenses for a time wore a more peaceful character, but they bore almost as heavily on his exhausted exchequer as those which had been created by the demands on his military chest. The peaceable joust, the banquet, and the pageant which followed each other with such splendour during the festive season—on his triumphant return to England—that made all England appear mad in the extravagant joy of her people, were scarcely less costly than the services of the noble lords and valiant captains, who with their retainers, fought for their prince for regulated "wages." The court of England was in the full enjoyment of all the delights of peace, towards the close of the year 1347, when there arrived in the kingdom a deputation from the electors of the German empire, on the important errand of offering the imperial crown to the king of England, Louis of Bavaria having died on the 11th of October. Grand entertainments were, of course, given to ambassadors coming on so flattering a mission, whilst Edward consulted with his best advisers on the propriety of accepting or rejecting the honour intended him; but there being a rival candidate in the field—Charles of Luxemburgh, supported by a very powerful party, who, on Edward's acceptance of the dignity, might set on foot a dangerous confederacy against him, which, in the increasing claims on his military resources, caused by his increased territory, he might find very embarrassing—he wisely resolved to decline the proffered distinction. The court had scarcely got rid of these illustrious strangers, when a new series of entertainments were called for in honour of the nuptials of the king's daughter, the lady Joan of the Tower, with Pedro, the heir of the king of Castile.¹ But all such gay doings ceased entirely on the approach of one of the most destructive "plagues"² that had ever visited

¹ She died on her way to join her intended husband, apparently of the plague.

² According to some of our most credulous historians, this pestilence was preceded by the appearance of many marvels. The most wonderful of which was the discovery of a winged serpent with two female heads, one of which

our shores ; which after ravaging the fairest portion of the earth, made its appearance in England in the summer of 1348, remained for two years, sweeping off so large a portion of the population,¹ that arbitrary measures were obliged to be resorted to, to force such as had been spared, to till the fields and perform other necessary labours, at a less extravagant price than they, endeavouring to take advantage of the scarcity of labourers, wanted to exact. It is impossible to delineate the horrors of this awful visitation ; it spared neither age nor sex, rich nor poor. From its attack the highest prelate was not more secure than the humblest pauper, and the stout victors of Cressy were overpowered by it as readily as the decrepid grandame or the weakly infant. During this trying period, the king had been employed in the most active measures for stopping its ravages, and for remedying, as much as possible, the suffering it had occasioned. With the exception of the lady Joan, who died abroad, the plague did not visit his family.

Edward left his kingdom twice within a few years ; once for a short period, on a secret expedition to Calais, being drawn thereto by information of a proposed surrender of the town, and a second time he set sail in command of a fleet to attack an armament sent from the ports of Spain to ravage the coast of England and destroy the English shipping ; on both occasions he behaved most gallantly.² The peace with France still continued—the truce having been renewed by the

was dressed in the prevailing mode, and the other in an older fashion.—Stow, p. 247. See also GIOVANNI VILLANI, c. cxix. p. 922. MEZERAY, p. 32. WALSHINGHAM, *Ypod.* p. 121. HOLINSHED, p. 943. KNIGHTON, 598.

¹ The churchyards were found greatly insufficient for burying the immense multitudes, who died much faster than they could be buried, and large fields were selected, in which deep pits were dug, and the plague-stricken crowds hurled in by hundreds at a time. It was under these terrible circumstances Sir Walter Manny purchased a field, containing rather more than thirteen acres, near Smithfield, which he caused to be enclosed and consecrated, for the interment of the dead ; and in a short time its green sod covered 100,000 ; to offer up continual prayers for whom Sir Walter subsequently caused a chapel to be raised on the spot, and endowed it with twelve priests and a provost.—Stow's *Annals*, p. 246. *Survey of London*, by THOMS, p. 161.

² See Life of EDWARD OF WOOLSTOCK.

labours of the reverend agents of the pope, to whom the pestilence was regarded as an argument for peace, which both kings seemed inclined to consider, when the death of Philip de Valois put an end to the desired arrangement of the matter in dispute between them.

No sooner had the plague abated in England, than the people rushed to their ordinary amusements and occupations, as if they sought to forget the vacancies the destroying angel had made in their fire-side circles, and the domestic misery the bursting asunder of so many social ties had created. Of this forced insensibility the higher classes appear to have set the example. Nothing but splendour and gaiety was seen throughout the island. "For there was scarce a lady or gentleman of any account," says Barnes, "who had not in her possession some precious household stuff, as rich gown, beds, counterpanes, hangings, linen, silks, furs, cups of gold and silver, porcelain and crystals, bracelets, chains, and necklaces brought from Caen, Calais, or other cities beyond sea."¹ The passion for display seemed rapidly increasing amongst the nobility and gentry of England; they were not satisfied with outward decoration; many in their household affected a state differing but little from that of the sovereign.² The court continued to keep up its attraction. It was considered the most brilliant in Europe, whether for the beauty of its

¹ *Hist. of Edw. III.* p. 416. "For there was no woman of any name, but she had some of the prizes of Caen and Calais, or of other cities beyond the seas, whereof the matrons, being proud, did brag in French matrons' apparel."—*Stow's Annals*, p. 245.

² An amusing instance of this is given in the letters patent granted by Elizabeth de Burgh, widow of Lionel, duke of Clarence, and grand-daughter of Gilbert de Clare, shewing the affectation of sovereignty which distinguished the powerful nobles of the time, the document being employed in the present instance merely to allow one of her tenants to exchange a standing in the public market of Clare, sixteen feet by eleven, for which the rent was no more than four-pence per annum—a great matter, certainly, for all the parade of "gardeins de la chancerie de nostre dame en Clare," so ostentatiously introduced.—*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1792, vol. lxiii. p. 36.

At this period, and to the time of Henry the Eighth, the principal nobility, in their letters, are found addressing their correspondents as "trusty and well-beloved," speaking of "we" and "our council," and in their establishments following the royal model as nearly as their means allowed.

dames, or the number and magnificence of the knights in gallant attendance upon them, or under their inspiring presence in the exercise of noble feats of arms; and its increasing reputation abroad continued to attract many an adventurous spirit from the continent to gain the favour of the courteous king of England, or strive for the smiles of the matchless beauties who were in attendance upon his amiable queen.¹

About this period, Edward still more completely united to himself the school of heroes whose valour had been trained by him in his Scottish and continental wars. The king's attachment to the observances of the chivalry of a past age has been alluded to in the notice given in a preceding page of his institution of "The Round Table." Since then, he had been considering how to establish some honourable association of the bravest men around him of a more original and more attractive character than the imitation of king Arthur's knightly brotherhood. It was his aim to unite in a new fellowship open only to the most distinguished, an honourable office and dignity which should be associated as closely with that devotion, which at this period was considered due to the ladies, as with the religion which maintained with about the same zeal, the honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin. The first indication he gave of his design was in the letters patent, in which he expressed his intention of founding a chapel, since known as St. George's chapel, in Windsor castle.²

Every preparation having been completed, on the 23d of April, 1349, which was the festival of St. George, the patron saint of England, the king proceeded with the knights he had selected as eminently deserving the distinction he was desirous of conferring, clothed in a

¹ "The meanwhile the fame of these frequent and noble tournaments, held by so warlike a prince, invited hither many gallant knights from foreign parts, but especially the young noblemen of Gascony came hither, as to the chiefest school of war, to practise themselves in the feats of arms."
—BARNES, p. 444.

² ROT. PAR. AN. 22 EDW. III. part 2. m. 6.

peculiar costume, consisting of a gown of russet, and a mantle of fine woollen blue cloth—each knight having a pair of long cordons of blue silk affixed to his collar, a cap and band. The distinguishing mark by which the members of this honourable fraternity were to be known was of all unlikely things a garter, and this was not only embroidered on their surcoats, but the collar to be worn with the robes, consisted of twenty-six garters, every one enclosing a rose, united with the buckle, each garter interchangeably divided with a knot, and having pendant from the centre one a jewel called the great George, representing an armed knight on a barbed horse, tilting at a dragon, who is thrown on his back; but each knight was distinguished by wearing below the knee a garter of blue velvet, embroidered in gold letters, with the motto, “*Honi soit qui mal y pense*,” enriched with precious stones, the buckle and pendant being of pure gold. Why a badge bearing so little relation to any thing chivalrous was selected seems at first unaccountable. The received origin is, that the king being observed by some of his courtiers to pick up a garter that had been dropped from the fair countess of Salisbury, he gave utterance to the words he afterwards adopted as the motto of the new order of knighthood, and out of devotion to the owner made it the most honorary distinction a brave knight could receive. Another account says that the garter was dropped by the queen, and Edward, finding it trod on and kicked aside by some irreverend courtiers, took it up, affirming he would ensure it should be treated with greater respect, and taking it to the queen, he asked her what would be thought of his having such a thing in his possession, and she answered in French, “Evil be to him who evil thinks.” The former legend is most in accordance with the character of Edward and with the gallantry of the age.

The king of England selected twenty-five of the bravest of his knights who, with himself, were to form an institution to be called the Knights of the Order of the Garter. Every one had given undoubted proofs of

his valour and dexterity in arms; and the names of all will be found in the pages of this work ever eager in the pursuit of honour. The original associates of the order were — 1. The king; 2. The prince of Wales; 3. Henry, earl of Lancaster; 4. Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; 5. The Captal de Buch; 6. Ralph, earl of Stafford; 7. William, earl of Salisbury; 8. Roger, lord Mortimer; 9. John, lord de Lisle; 10. Bartholomew, lord Burghersh; 11. John, lord Beauchamp; 12. John, lord Bohun of Dunster; 13. Hugh, lord Courteney; 14. Thomas, lord Holland; 15. John, lord Grey de Codenor; 16. Sir Richard Fitz-Simon; 17. Sir Miles Stapleton; 18. Sir Thomas Wale; 19. Sir Hugh Wrotesley; 20. Sir Nele Loring; 21. Sir John Chandos; 22. Lord James Audley; 23. Sir Otho Holland; 24. Sir Henry Eon of Brabant; 25. Sir Sancho d'Ambreticourt of Hainault; 26. Sir William Pavely.

It may possibly strike the reader with some surprise, that the gallant Sir Walter Manny, the devoted companion in arms of the king, with several other famous captains scarcely less celebrated, are not amongst this select few; but though Sir Walter's claims were overlooked, they were not forgotten, for he was selected to fill one of the first vacancies that occurred. Of the knights chosen to form this institution, Edward put himself at the head, and, bare-headed, marched in procession to St. George's chapel, where they heard a grand mass celebrated by William Edindon, bishop of Winchester, who was appointed prelate of the order. A grand banquet followed, and for several days the festivities were kept up with great splendour, the knights spending the best part of the day in tournaments, to which all strangers that chose to come had been invited; and, with a liberality worthy of his noble nature, the king allowed his most distinguished prisoners of war to attend and share in the entertainments, furnishing them with handsome armour and dresses for the occasion. This permission was taken advantage of by the king of Scots, the earl of Eu, the lord Charles of Blois, and the earl of Tanker-

ville, who bore themselves very gallantly—the earl of Eu obtaining the day's prize. Edward played a conspicuous part amongst the challengers, entering the lists in a magnificent suit of armour, bearing the device of a white swan gorged, or, with this quaint motto on his surcoat and shield,

“ Hay, hay, the white swan,
By God's soul I am thy man ! ”

The value of the institution was recognised in France and as readily imitated; the French monarch, following the footsteps of his predecessor in copying the king of England's festival of the Round Table, no sooner heard of the “ Knights of the Garter ” than he instituted the “ Knights of the Star.” Of the latter very little is known, for soon after the origin of the order its dissolution took place: of the former it is sufficient to say, that it is one of the most coveted distinctions in the gift of the crown, not only amongst the bravest and noblest of England, but amongst the most influential of the sovereigns of Europe.¹

When John ascended the throne of France, Edward did not publish any protest against it, or bring forward his claim more prominently than he had hitherto done. Probably he knew the value of a peaceable agitation of his rights amongst men determined to exclude him from the government of their country, and had resolved to leave the matter to the decision of the sword. Nevertheless, he readily entered into the negotiations which, under the pontiff's auspices, were carried on for the purpose of establishing a lasting peace between the two countries, and a settlement of all matters in dispute between them; he even exhibited a very praiseworthy moderation; but the arrogance of king John broke off the business when it seemed about to be brought to a happy termination. Edward was not

¹ MR. BELIZ'S *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* is the most recent work on the subject, and well deserves a perusal; the student may, also, refer with advantage to the magnificent work on *The History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire*, by SIR HARRIS NICOLAS, 4 vols. 4to.

slow in resenting this provocation. He sent more than one important expedition to carry on the war with vigour in the enemy's country; and, towards the close of October 1355, sailed from the Thames with a powerful force, and, after a stormy voyage, landed at Calais. Whilst in that neighbourhood he knighted his sons Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt, whom he had brought over with him, with several other young noblemen, in all twenty-seven. He marched from Calais on the 1st of November with 7000 men-at-arms, 2000 mounted archers, a fair proportion of archers on foot, and Welsh infantry, and proceeded towards St. Omers, wasting the country as he passed. Whilst between Guisnes and Ardres, two of king John's officers obtained access to him by disguising their real object; but on their return to their master, the report they gave of the English army produced a discouraging effect, for, though he had previously affected a great desire to give his adversary battle, he now contented himself with marching in advance of him, breaking down the bridges, and putting out of his reach every description of forage and provisions. These measures so cut off Edward's supplies, that he found himself obliged to return to Calais with all his forces, where, after making a truce to endure till Easter, he embarked to return to England.¹

Edward's stay in France appears to have been shortened by intelligence he received that the Scots,

¹ FROISSART, chap. cliv., and the French historians state that king John sent to offer battle to king Edward, which the latter declined. HOLINSHED, *Eng. Chron.* p. 951, and the English historians assert, that in answer to the offer Edward sent a challenge to fight the French king in person, or with three or four knights on each side, but ultimately agreed to give battle on the day named, certain English lords being present, offering to render themselves prisoners to king John if their sovereign failed in his appearance, provided the messengers, the constable of France and others, would agree to the same conditions, which was refused. And ROBERT DE AVESARY, p. 204, says that Edward agreed to wait a few days for the approach of his adversary, who not advancing, he proceeded to Calais. It is only necessary to observe here, that the best policy of the king of England was to fight, which there is ample evidence to prove he never avoided; and that the wisest course of the king of France was to prevent an engagement, and I have not found any good authority for believing he was ever more disposed for hostilities than his adversary.

having received considerable assistance in men and money, had again taken the field, and, by a well-concerted stratagem, had made themselves masters of Berwick. Parliament¹ assembled on the 25th of November, and Sir Walter Manny was directed by the king to lay before that assembly the state of his affairs;² he received, as usual, prompt assistance,³ and having also obtained a gift no doubt equally welcome, which was another son, the seventh his queen had presented him with, he held, in her honour, a tournament at Woodstock,⁴ where she lay in on the 6th of January 1356; after which he started for the north, at the head of a fine army, in the full determination of bringing his unruly neighbours to an account for the mischiefs they had committed. On the 14th of January,⁵ he had encamped before Berwick, and proceeded with vigour to possess himself of that town; which design he was enabled to accomplish by his able general Sir Walter Manny, who was in advance of the main army, and so frightened the Scots by the preparations he made to mine the castle, that they retreated into the interior before the king arrived. Edward stopped not long in Berwick after obtaining possession of it, and having left there a sufficient garrison, he marched his forces in three divisions,⁶ ravaging the country as he proceeded. The Scots pursued a policy they had found so advantageous when employed against Edward the Second. They wisely removed out of his reach every thing that might be of assistance to his troops, so that they had not advanced many days when they began to feel terribly straitened for want of provisions, which was so increased by the failure of the northern fleet, under Lord Morley, to which they looked for supplies—many of his ships having been wrecked in a terrible tempest that overtook them as

¹ ROT. PARL. 29 EDW. III.

² It was customary for some officer in the king's confidence, on the assembling of parliament, to give them an account of the king's affairs.

³ ROT. PARL. 29 EDW. III.

⁴ STOW, p. 255.

⁵ HOI INSHED, *Engl. Chron.* p. 954.

⁶ KNIGHTON, 2611.

they were approaching the Scottish coast—that Edward found it advisable to fall back. He, however, made such havoc in that part of the country through which he directed his army, that the time of his visit was long afterwards held in remembrance there by the name of “the burnt Candlemas.”¹ On his return he stayed a few days at Roxburgh, where Edward Baliol who had joined him, being fully impressed with the hopelessness of his ever being able to maintain his authority in Scotland, and considering that he was advanced in life and had no heir to whom to transmit the crown, even if he should succeed in securing it, resigned all his claim, by a charter properly authenticated, to the king of England and his heirs for ever, reserving to himself the sum of 2000*l.* per annum for the rest of his life.² This resignation was solemnly made before many distinguished nobles, prelates, and knights, whose names are given as attesting witnesses, and the letters patent in which the grant was conferred is dated January 25th, 1356.³

The next year was made memorable in England by the victory of Poitiers, by Edward the Black Prince,⁴ who followed the intelligence into England, with the king of France, his son, and the rest of his prisoners. The king of England proved himself a generous enemy; for on their arrival such entertainments were given in their honour, as made it appear as if they were guests instead of captives. It was a most festive season for England, and so enthusiastic became Edward's subjects, that even private individuals distinguished themselves by a princely hospitality, of which we might in vain look for a parallel in our own times.⁵

Banquets and tournaments followed each other in quick succession; but one of his royal captives Edward was now about to lose—negotiations having been pro-

¹ HECTOR BOECE, l. xv. fol. 326.

² SPEED, p. 581.

³ There are several papers respecting this transaction in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i., and *Fadera*, tom. iii. part 1. Mr. JAMES, *Hist. Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 169, has made an error of ten years in giving the date of Baliol's resignation.

⁴ See *Life of Edward of Woodstock* in this volume.—Stow.

ceeding for some time for the king of Scotland's liberation, which object his courteous enemy appears to have facilitated in a remarkably liberal manner.¹ There had evidently grown up a feeling of mutual respect between Edward and his brother-in-law since their association, which exerted a considerable influence not only in the treaty which restored David to his country but in their after conduct to each other.

At the commencement of the year 1358,² the king of England published a proclamation that foreign knights, from any part of the world, who desired to attend at the forthcoming feast of St. George, to be held on the 23d of April, at Windsor, should have a safe conduct to endure for three weeks after the festival, and permission to join in the grand military entertainments then to be performed. These announcements were sure of attracting general attention. On the day of the feast, among the knights strangers who presented themselves, came the time-serving duke of Brabant, Sir Henry Eam of Flanders, Sir Frank van Hall, the king and queen of Scotland, and many others from Germany, Gascony, and Scotland.³ It was considered that this entertainment—which was on so magnificent a scale as to astonish the visitors—was given by the king of England in honour of his illustrious prisoner the king of France; but the latter seems to have had a shrewd suspicion that some of the cost would eventually come out of his purse in the way of ransom, observing that he never saw nor knew of such royal shows and feastings without some after-reckoning for gold and silver. He was not far from the truth, for shortly afterwards Edward began to press the business of his ransom,⁴ striving at first to bend the captivity of his rival to his own views of the French crown, but this his captive would not allow, and arrangements were set on foot of a more liberal nature. Edward

¹ FROISSART, chap. clxxiii., attributes David's enlargement to the exertions of the cardinals, de Perigord and St. Vital, and the bishop of St. Andrews.

² KNIGHTON, 2916.

³ MS. *Acta Edwardi, filii Edw. III. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 230.

⁴ KNIGHTON, 2618.

had, by his many noble qualities, won over the hostile king of Scotland, and he was not less successful with his more powerful adversary the king of France. Concessions were to be made on both sides: in return for the abandonment by Edward of his long-cherished hope of obtaining the crown of France, together with all claim upon Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, it was agreed that John should cede Gascony and Guicenne, Poitou, Touraine, Saintonge, Perigord, Quercie, Limosin, Angoulmois, Ponthieu, Boulonnais, Guisnes, and Calais, free from homage, to the king of England and his heirs;¹ but the regent and parliament refused to sanction the treaty, though it had received the signature of the two kings.²

After this Edward prepared to enforce a satisfactory arrangement, and having demanded assistance of his foreign allies, such multitudes crowded to obtain service under him, that Calais, the place of rendezvous, would hardly contain them. He assembled his own forces at Sandwich, and stated to his most distinguished captains that it was his resolution to go over into France, and never to return again alive, till either by war he had ended the controversy, or else obtained a peace equally to his honour and advantage. "And therefore," he added, impressively, "if there be any among you unwilling to partake with me in whatever God shall please to send us, honour or dishonour, peace or war, life or death, that man hath now my free leave to depart." This speech was made known to the assembled army; but all were alike anxious to attend their victorious sovereign, and they answered they were resolved to live and die with him.³

Edward sailed from Sandwich on the 18th of October, 1359, and landed at Calais the same evening. He lost little time in getting his fine army in marching

¹ HOLINSHED, *Eng. Chron.* p. 963.

² FROISSART, chap. cci.

³ *MS. Acta Edwardi, filii Edw. III. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 236. According to KNIGHTON, 2623, every man had been summoned between the age of twenty and sixty, and Edward had so many soldiers, that after dismissing many thousands as unfit for war, there were still left 100,000 men.—WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 160.

order, and on the 4th of November he left Calais, "with such a multitude of people the whole country was filled with them; and they were so richly armed and dressed out, that it was a pleasure to view their arms glittering in the sun, their banners waving in the wind, and the whole army marching slowly in battle array."¹ The king had not proceeded far on his road when he met the foreign mercenaries, who complained of having been kept waiting for him till they had spent all their money; and begged his assistance. He directed them to march to Calais and refresh themselves, and promised to take their case into consideration.² But the case was rather a difficult one, and the king found himself obliged to make known to them that it was out of his power to satisfy them for what they had lost, as he brought with him barely sufficient for his present expenses, but if they liked to venture with him they might, promising they should share liberally in his successes, but stating he could not pay them for their services, as he had brought with him an army sufficient for his purpose. This information occasioned some dissatisfaction, but matters were at last arranged amicably, some being assisted to return to their own country, and others choosing to remain, with the prospect of bettering their condition by following the king of England's victorious standards.

Edward had with him the finest army he had ever commanded, for, besides the forces he had brought from England, large detachments had joined him, under the command of his sons, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Lancaster, and a considerable body of auxiliaries still remained. The appearance made by the troops is thus graphically described:—

"First marched 500 knights, well armed, and 1000 archers, in the van of the king's battalion, which was composed of 3000 men-at-arms, and 5000 archers, himself and attendants, riding among them in close order after the constable. In the rear of the king's battalion was the immense baggage-train, which occupied two leagues in length; it consisted of upwards of 5000 carriages, with a sufficiency of horses to carry the provision for the army, and those utensils never before accustomed to be carried after an

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccvi.

² Ibid.

army, such as hand-mills to grind their corn, ovens to bake their bread, and a variety of other necessary articles. Next marched the strong battalion of the prince of Wales. He was accompanied by his brothers. It was composed of full 2000 men-at-arms, most excellently mounted, and richly dressed. Both the men-at-arms and archers marched in close order, so that they were ready instantly to engage should there be occasion."¹

The same writer adds that there were with the army 500 pioneers with spades and pick-axes to level the roads, and cut down trees and hedges for the more easy passage of the carriages; and that, among the distinguished nobles who accompanied their sovereign were four of his sons.²

In this order the English army marched through Artois, passing by the city of Arras; but the country being in so deplorable a state, from the continued passage of armed men, who plundered with an equal recklessness, whether they presented themselves as friends or foes, it had been left uncultivated for the last three years, they began to feel the want of provision, notwithstanding Edward had done every thing that could suggest itself to a skilful general to provide for such a contingency; the weather was also so wet that the roads were rendered almost impassable. Nevertheless, Edward pressed on into Cambresis, till he arrived in the environs of Rheims, which he intended besieging. Both officers and men appear to have been very uncomfortably situated:—

"The king's quarters were at St. Waal, beyond Rheims, and the prince of Wales at St. Thierry [a neighbouring village], where they held their courts. The duke of Lancaster, after them, kept the greatest household. The counts, barons, and knights, were quartered in the neighbouring villages to Rheims, so that they were not very comfortable; nor had they weather to please them, for they had arrived there in the depth of winter, about St. Andrew's day, when it was very rainy; their horses were badly housed, badly treated, and ill fed, as the whole country was destroyed by having been, for two or three years before, the theatre of war, that no one had tilled or sowed the ground. There was such scarcity of corn of all sorts, that many were forced to seek forage ten or twelve leagues off. These parties met frequently with the garrisons of the different fortresses; sharp skirmishes ensued between them, sometimes the English lost, at others they were victorious."³

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccvii.

² The most distinguished knights are enumerated by Froissart.

³ FROISSART, chap. ccviii.

Rheims was strong in its defences, and possessed an efficient garrison. Edward did not desire to lose more men than he could avoid, therefore he would not attempt to carry the place by assault. He remained closely investing it, from St. Andrew's day to the beginning of Lent, sending out detachments to drain the country, and obtain whatever provisions and forage were procurable. One of these, under the command of Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, was so fortunate as to discover a great quantity of provisions, and about 3000 butts of wine, which came very seasonably to the king and his sons, and to all the besiegers. Others, under able leaders, were allowed to proceed on different expeditions; some of which were very successful; but the king at last began to tire of the state of inactivity in which he had so long been fixed, and broke up his camp, marching off towards Chalons in Champagne. He had not advanced far in this direction when his fired troops met with a prize in the town of Tonnerre, in the shape of another 3000 butts of wine. The king soon after left the road to Auxerre, and proceeded along that which leads to Noyers; on arriving here he would not allow of any attack upon the town, as its lord had been his prisoner since the battle of Poitiers. However, at Flavigny they found provisions sufficient to last the army for a month.

The march of the English army has been very minutely described by Froissart:—

"I must inform you," he says, "that the king of England and his rich lords were followed by carts laden with tents, pavilions, mills, and forges, to grind their corn and make shoes for their horses, and every thing of that sort which might be wanting. For this purpose there were upwards of 6000 carts, each of them drawn by four good and strong horses, which had been transported from England; upon these carts, also, were many vessels and small boats, made surprisingly well of boiled leather,—they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size, and they were of great use to the lords and barons during Lent; but the commonalty made use of what provisions they could get. The king had besides thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks, sixty couple of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds, so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing, either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king."¹

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccx.

While staying at Guillon, very much at his ease, the king received an embassy from the young duke of Burgundy, with whom he entered into a treaty to spare his duchy for three years, on condition of receiving 200,000 livres. Having settled this business, Edward marched upon Paris, and took up his quarters within two leagues of that city, at Bourg la Reine, whence he sent a herald to the duke of Normandy, who was in Paris, with a considerable force, to offer him battle; but the messenger could obtain no reply. This appears to have made the king very indignant, but finding nothing could be done by staying where he was, and that there was a great scarcity of provision in the neighbourhood, he took the road to Moulthery, designing to enter the fertile country of Beauce, and follow the course of the Loire all the summer, after which he would return with his troops refreshed, and lay siege to Paris.¹

The condition of France at this period was most melancholy; she seemed to lie entirely at the mercy of any armed band that chose to attack her, and her enemies were both numerous and formidable. In addition to all the horrors of war, in many districts she was suffering the tortures of famine. The spirit of her brave population appeared overpowered by the accumulation of miseries with which misgovernment and warfare had made them familiar; and her gallant nobles and chivalrous knights seem to have been so powerfully impressed with the successes of their enemies, or so little inclined to join and make head against the common foe, that there not only was no prospect of a successful struggle against the invaders, but it was evident that the longer that struggle was continued, the worse would be the condition of the country. The necessity, therefore, of peace pressed itself more strongly on the mind of the duke of Normandy and his confidential advisers every day, and they, no doubt, deeply regretted not having accepted the conditions which the two kings had agreed upon. It was not to be expected that those terms would be

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxi.

allowed now;¹ indeed it was very problematical that any terms short of the submission of the entire kingdom would be accepted, for with France apparently so completely at his mercy, it was but natural Edward should seek to complete his conquest. Indeed, it had been confidently stated that the king of England had determined on being crowned in France as monarch of that country with as little delay as possible. Nevertheless, one at least of the great men of France did not despair, and this was the bishop of Therouenne, the ablest and most influential minister in the French government. By the authority of the council, Hugh de Geneva, lord of Autun, taking with him the abbot of Clugny, and another distinguished ecclesiastic, Symon de Langres, made what haste they could after the English army, charged with instructions to negotiate a peace with the king of England.² They overtook him in the neighbourhood of Gallardon, in no mood for shewing any extraordinary leniency towards an enemy, whose conduct towards him had been any thing but conciliatory. To their overtures he proposed conditions corresponding with the advantageous position in which he was placed; these, though the embassy found it impossible to accept, made them only the more zealous in their duty, following the king from place to place, and urging him at every favourable opportunity to be more reasonable. Edward did not seem likely to be prevailed upon through such channels, which the duke of Lancaster observing, made use of many forcible arguments to induce him to listen to them, and ultimately the conditions of a treaty of peace were discussed, and in due time mutually agreed to at Bretigny, by commissioners on both sides.

This famous treaty consisted of forty distinct articles; in which a very extensive district of territory in France

¹ It was not likely that Edward would be found in an agreeable mood for negotiating a peace, as he must have lately heard of the atrocities recently committed by a French fleet on the coast of Sussex.—WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 166; KNIGHTON, 2622.

² FROISSART, chap. ccli.

was made over to the king of England for ever, and three millions of gold crowns, two being of the value of an English noble, was agreed to be paid for the king of France's ransom, and several distinguished hostages were to be sent to England till these conditions were fulfilled. These arrangements were much more in Edward's favour than those which had been refused.

The kings of France and England subsequently considered together the different conditions of this important treaty, at Calais, in which they made some alterations and omissions, but preserved the main features. They signed various documents at Calais and at Boulogne, on the 24th and 26th of October, 1360. A few days afterwards, John was restored to his expectant subjects, and Edward hastened to his devoted people, to enjoy the splendid advantages he had obtained by his campaigns in France.

CHAPTER VIII.

Distressing Change in the King's Condition and Character—His increased Difficulties—Ruin of the Italian Companies of the Bardi and Peruzzi—The attention of Parliament directed to the Malpractices of the Officers of the Crown—The Duke of Lancaster and his Party—Impeachment of Lord Latimer—A Bribe refused—Sir Richard Sturmy—Character of Alice Perrers, the reputed Mistress of the King—Her conduct inquired into by Parliament—She is sent from the Court—Infamous Characters again placed about the King—Unpopularity of the Duke of Lancaster—A New Parliament—The Duke opposed by the Clergy—Wicliff—A Curious Scene in St. Paul's—A Riot in London—The Widow of the Black Prince a Mediator—Interview of a Deputation of the Citizens of London with the King—Certain Citizens summoned to appear before the King—Their Punishment—Lynch Law—Affairs in France—Edward abandoned on his Death-bed—His Last Moments.

SCARCELY were the entertainments over that were given to celebrate the successful termination of the king's wars in France, and his son Edward the Black Prince, with due dignity and ample authority, despatched to rule over these extensive possessions in France, secured to him by the treaty of Bretigny, than Edward began to experience the greatest embarrassment and annoyances from the overwhelming debt which had been created by his Continental wars. He had arrived at the zenith of his greatness, and it was so ordered that his degradation should be as signal as his exaltation. That pecuniary difficulties dragged him down from the high place to which his military genius and gallant spirit raised him, cannot be completely proved; but they, at least, gave the impulse to that descent which, with short intervals of an apparent desire to hold himself up by those promptings of a noble nature which had so well supported him in more glorious days, did not end till it had left him where contempt alone would follow, were there not some peculiar features in his condition that demand commiseration.

This pitiable change was brought about by several sufficient causes. His heroic son, the Black Prince,—

whose chivalrous character he had perfected with such infinite pains-taking—by the treachery of one for whom he had gained one of the most brilliant victories on record, even in those days of unparalleled triumphs, undermined his health, and exhausted his resources, found himself obliged to quit those possessions which his father had bestowed upon him, returned to die a lingering death in his own land; and the place he had so honourably filled in his affections, his younger brother, John of Gaunt, strove, more earnestly than honestly, to fill; and such had become the king's indolence and inattention to his duties, that he obtained a marked success. His amiable and devoted partner, Philippa of Hainault, who had so often filled his heart with the worthiest sympathies of his nature, in an evil day for the country she had so long assisted him to reign over, passed from this world to one where her virtues cannot fail of obtaining honours far more exalted than those she quitted; and, much to his discredit, while the impression of her worthiness was fresh in the recollection of the people whose interests she always most faithfully guarded, he allowed a worthless, vulgar woman, named Alice Perrers, to usurp her place, and practise every kind of extortion and tyranny for her own immediate profit. So deeply was he involved by the immense accumulation of unpaid claims that pressed upon him more crushingly every year, that he despaired of effecting any considerable reduction, and in that spirit he forgot all the noble impulses of his early life, and abandoned the finances, the government, and all the business of the state, to the care of a cabal of corrupt ministers, whose sole object appeared to be to plunder the oppressed people.

In a preceding chapter, the reader has learned the king's extensive liabilities. Since then matters in this respect had changed very much for the worse. Though his payments by no means kept pace with his expenses, his creditors had received large sums towards the liquidation of their claims; but now the borrowings became as large as ever—when they could be effected—and the payments, when made, ridiculously small. In

the twenty-first year of his reign, there is evidence that the Bardi received 150*l.* in part payment of the sum of 50,493*l.*:¹ but disproportioned as this is, it is the last payment of any kind of which any account has been preserved. In his twenty-sixth year, it is apparent, from the Liberate Rolls, he borrowed from the merchants of Lucca the sum of 23,600*l.*:² But these proceedings ended in a most deplorable way for the lenders. They not only lost all their capital, but had involved themselves to a very heavy amount. Ultimately both the Bardi and Peruzzi became bankrupts, and several other companies of foreign merchants of less note were overwhelmed in the same awful ruin. No doubt the misfortune that had overtaken Edward's zealous friends, assisted, with the numberless other causes of disquietude which then existed, the prostration of his moral and intellectual energies, that in the last years of his life made him a spectacle of sorrow and humiliation.

Considerable discontent had for some time existed in all classes of the community; the roguery of the king's confidential ministers was well known; and there were not wanting a sufficient number of right-thinking men desirous of getting redress for the popular grievances. Agitation was at this period a very hazardous trade, and there were many reasons that the discontented should be exceedingly cautious in their movements. In the year 1376, a parliament was summoned to assemble in London for the despatch of very urgent business; but when a subsidy was required; the knights of the shire, after sufficient deliberation, refused to make any grant unless they had as coadjutors certain of the nobles in whom they had confidence; and they also required the advice of four of the bishops in the same important matter. These prelates, the bishops of Norwich, St. David's, London, and Carlyle, after hearing the case properly laid before them, "foreseeing how the matter was hard, and without great counsel not well to be brought to good effect, for that it re-

¹ Rot. Lib. 21 Edw. III. m. 2.

² Ibid. 26 Edw. III. et 44.

quired a strong hand, made answer, that by all means they should labour that four lords which should entirely love the kingdom and his majesty's dignity, should be sent for, with whose favours they might be backed and defended if any sought to wrong them, and by them to be more encouraged stoutly to prosecute any matter that should be brought to pass for the safety of the kingdom, his majesty's body and soul, yea, although the king should take the same in evil part."¹

The originators of this movement well knew they had many well-wishers, both among the nobles and the great body of the people; but they also looked for support in the impending struggle to the only person who could by his own authority insure success. This was Edward of Woodstock, the prince of Wales, whom all classes regarded as their hope and refuge in these unhappy times. He was at this period living in retirement, in a very critical state of health, at his palace at Berkhamstead; but it was known that he took a lively interest in whatever affected the prosperity of the nation, and it is probable communications on the subject had already been opened with him. The knowledge that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster,² who seems to have had the king entirely at his disposal, befriended the offenders, and directed all the powers of the state to his own selfish ends, which it was their principal object to defeat, made them fully acquainted with the danger of their employment. They were, however, too good patriots to be easily daunted, and, taking the advice

¹ Fragment of Chronicle in the Harleian Library, No. 247, entitled, in the hand-writing of Stow, " 'Liber S. Alban,' penned, as it semithe, by John the Prior of Robart's Bridge, made Abbot of Boxley in anno ——" —the date is left blank. The year 1216 has since erroneously been placed upon the MS. Mr. Amyott, *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, vol. xxii. p. 212, has given this fragment its proper place, which is introductory to the interesting Chronicle, *Hart. MSS.* No. 6217, he has with so much ability and scholarship, brought from its obscurity. He considers the writer of the original Latin chronicle, of which the MS. he has edited is undoubtedly a translation written in the sixteenth century, was a monk of the abbey of St. Alban's. The author hazards the conjecture that he was Thomas de la Mare, the thirtieth abbot who presided over that splendid edifice.

² Henry Plantagenet, his predecessor in the title, died of the plague. HEYLYN, *Help to English History*, p. 371.

of the bishops, they selected the lords Henry Percy, Richard de Stafford, and Guy de Bryan, with Sir Henry Scroop,¹ to assist at their counsels, who, at their request, were joined by four earls,—Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, William Ufford, earl of Suffolk, and Ralph Stafford, earl of Stafford.

The patriotic commons, thus strengthened, next proceeded to choose a speaker. Entertaining doubts of the advantage of reposing confidence in any one who held office under the king, though some attempt seems to have been made by the duke of Lancaster, who was then present, to place such a person in the chair. Sir Peter de la Mare² opened the proceedings by complaining of the sums which parliament had allowed for the king's use, being far greater than could have been necessary if they had been properly employed, and required an account of their disbursement by those who had received them. The boldness of the orator took the party in power by surprise, and, as it now became known that it was the intention of parliament to withhold all grants "until certain abuses were corrected, and certain persons who seemed to have impoverished the king and the realm, and greatly blemished their fame, were examined, and their offences, according to the quality of them, punished,"³ they began to be alarmed. The duke of Lancaster had a secret conference with his associates on the evening of the same day, to consider what was most advisable for him to do. He would have been very glad to have stifled the threatened inquiry in its birth, for it was likely to produce disclosures that would not redound to his credit; but neither he nor his advisers dared to bring forward any plan that would secure that end. Finding there was nothing but danger to be gained by blustering, the duke assumed an opposite behaviour, and when he next took his seat in parliament, appeared

¹ ROT. PARL. II. p. 322.

² Of the same family as the person whom I conjecture to be the writer of the Latin Chronicle, cited in the preceding page.

³ HARL. MS. 247.

desirous of forwarding the views of the commons, with more zeal than the boldest amongst them had displayed. They, however, knew him too well, and, having courteously thanked him, at once proceeded to impeach William, lord Latimer, the king's chamberlain,¹ accusing him of misgovernment and extortion during the period he had the government of certain places in Brittany, for which it was stated he was soon afterwards condemned to pay a fine of 30,000 marks; of selling the castle of St. Saviour's to the enemy; of preventing the succouring of Becherel by keeping back the funds necessary for the purpose; of retaining a fine of 10,000 marks paid by Sir Robert Knolles, he having unjustly incurred the king's displeasure by the unfortunate result of his expedition into France; of retaining 8000 out of another sum of 10,000 marks provided for the king's use by the citizens of Bristol; and in conjunction with one Richard Lyons, when the king did not want money, borrowing for his use 20,000 marks of the merchants, for which they required the king to pay 20,000*l.* as interest,² and thus appropriating to themselves 10,000 marks; and that they had also bought up all the merchandise that came into England, setting prices at their own pleasure, and, by so doing, making such a scarcity that the common people could scarcely live.

The knights brought forward their evidence against the two criminals, and pressed for judgment so urgently, that the duke of Lancaster found that no defence was possible, and all that he could do was to delay passing sentence, which, on some pretence, he put off doing. The accused had but one hope, and

¹ This nobleman had fought in aid of the earl of Montford, with some distinction in Brittany, where he had been governor of Becherel and of the castle of St. Saviour, and had been employed in negotiations between the earl and king Edward.—FROISSART, chap. ccxxix. He also, according to the same authority, accompanied the duke of Lancaster in his unprofitable expedition in 1363. A copious notice of him will be found in DUGDALE's *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 32, and the particulars of his impeachment are recorded in the *ROLLS OF PARLIAMENT*, vol. ii. p. 324.

² HARL. MS. 6217. This sum for interest seems incredible; probably it should have been 2000*l.*

that lay in the application of a bribe to their principal accusers, for they seem to have been under the impression that they were not likely to be more honest than themselves. Lyons sent a large portion of his ill-got gains to the prince of Wales, which, to his great astonishment, was shortly afterwards indignantly returned to him;¹ and lord Latimer employed a confidential friend, lord John Neville, then filling the office of the king's high steward, to negotiate with the most influential of the commons. Lord Neville set about his office very unskilfully, selecting Sir Peter de la Mare to try his experiment upon, and spoke in behalf of his friend in a manner that looked very like threatening his accusers, but Sir Peter cut him short by advising him to leave to others the pleading of their own cause, and prepare to be a solicitor for himself, for his offences would most probably be the next subject of inquiry by the indignant parliament.²

The Londoners were greatly incensed against lord Latimer, and created a serious tumult when they discovered that a prisoner who could give important testimony against him was nowhere to be found, and they feared the same fate would be his, that had happened to another witness against him who had been discovered strangled in prison. Their threats at last caused the missing man to be brought forth, and then, it was evident he had been tampered with, for nothing could be made of his evidence. Nevertheless sentence was at last pronounced against both Richard Lyons and lord Latimer; the former being dispossessed of all his lands and imprisoned in the Tower; and lord Latimer was deprived of his office, and publicly declared too infamous to be admitted to the king's council; his property was confiscated, and his person condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

¹ See *Life of Edward of Woodstock* in this volume.

² Lord Neville was immediately impeached and obliged to resign his office, and condemned to a fine of 8000 marks.—See *ROLLS OF PARLIAMENT*, vol. ii. p. 328. Some particulars of him will be found in *DUGDALE'S Baronage*, vol. i. p. 296.

Sir Richard Sturry¹ had been employed by the king, who at first appeared to appreciate the labours of his faithful commons, as a confidential messenger from the monarch to his parliament; but on the discovery that their objects and requests had been falsely stated by him to the king, they took measures to open the eyes of the deceived monarch as to his character; and after due inquiry his master banished him from the council as a liar and a sower of discord. Most unhappily for England, at this critical time died the Black Prince; and whilst the sad event plunged the great body of the nation in grief, the criminals, both small and great, saw in it, not only security from present punishment, but impunity for future offences; lord Latimer and sir Richard Lyons so distinguished themselves by their unseemly rejoicing in their prison at the Tower, which was any thing but a prison to them, as to draw on them the indignation of parliament, who caused them to discontinue such indecent behaviour, and spiritedly carried on the prosecution of notorious offenders, notwithstanding the irreparable loss they had sustained.

At this period the monarch was purposely surrounded with persons of very indifferent character, whose object appears to have been his entire withdrawal from public business, that the Lancasterian faction might carry on their intrigues with the more security. It is evident he was not allowed to see with his own eyes, or hear with his own ears, the state of his kingdom. Among the most unprincipled of these agents was a woman, said to be of low origin, called Alice Perrers,² who having belonged to the establishment of

¹ He distinguished himself in the continental wars in this reign, and is noticed by FROISSART, chap. cxcix. He is also mentioned in LELAND's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 183, date 1375, "Ricardus Sturey revocatus in familiaritatem et gratiam ab Edwardo rege."

² "Never king had so many gifts as this king had from his subjects, and it hath never grieved the subjects of England to give to their king, but when they knew there was a devouring lady that had ever share in all things that passed, that the duke of Lancaster was as scruping as she, and that the chancellor did eat up the people as fast as them both."—SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

the late queen Philippa, had had opportunities of attracting the king's attention, which she turned to such account after the decease of her mistress, that he, in the height of his infatuation, allowed her to conduct herself in a manner that has loaded the last years of his glorious life with obloquy.¹ If what is stated of her by the reputed author of the contemporary chronicle be true, she must have been one of the most infamous characters that ever disgraced a court; and, although several attempts have been made to defend her reputation, there is but little doubt that she was a very artful, mischievous, and profligate woman. It is said of her, that after she had obtained the king's friendship she so bewitched him, that he permitted all the most urgent business of the state to be directed by her; the consequences of which were, she began to put all things unjustly from the king, to defend false causes every where by unlawful means, to get possessions for her own use and advantage, and, if in any place she was resisted, then she applied to the king and was sure, such was the extent of her improper influence, to obtain what she desired. "This woman," says the chronicler, "had England suffered now many years, for that they [the people] heartily loved the king, and were loath to offend him; for there is a special grace in them, that they love their king more than any other nation, and whom once they have admitted to the kingly state they always honour, although he greatly offend."

This is not exactly the case, the real fact being, that the remembrance amongst the community generally, of the many instances of a great and good mind their monarch had exhibited during his long reign, was so strong, that they could endure with patience a course of foolish and criminal conduct in his government, which, under other circumstances, would have driven them into rebellion. This endurance Alice

¹ She obtained a grant of the queen's jewels, goods, and chattels, left in the hands of Euphemia, wife of Sir Walter de Heselarton, and subsequently, several valuable manors.—*Fædera*.

Perrers was so unwise as to push to its extreme limits. "For her dishonest malapertness," says the indignant priest, "increased so much, and the patience and humility of the Englishmen so abounded, that she was not ashamed to sit in seat of judgment at Westminster, and there, either for herself, or her friends, or for the king, as his promotrix, was not afraid to speak in causes, and presently to ask of the judges definitive sentences in law matters, who, fearing the king's displeasure, or rather more truly fearing the harlot's, durst not oftentimes judge otherwise than she had defined."¹ Any further forbearance was impossible; and influenced by the state of public feeling, the commons caused the proper inquiries to be instituted, and demanded, that "as well for the king's honour as for his commodity," Alice Perrers should be removed. They ascertained that she was attached to Sir William Windsor, then lord lieutenant in Ireland,² and they were desirous of sending her to him as a gentle means of getting her out of the way. They imprisoned one of her associates—a certain friar of the order of St. Dominic, a reputed magician,³ and had Alice brought before them. These

¹ *MS. Harleian*, 6217.

² He afterwards married her. BARNES (*Edward the Third*, p. 872), who seems marvellously inclined to break a lance in her defence, thinks her union with such a man undeniable proof of her chastity. CARTE (*History of England*, vol. ii. p. 534) is similarly prejudiced in her favour; but women of the most notorious characters have, before and since the time of Alice Perrers, contrived to obtain respectable husbands. The present "enlightened age" would furnish more than one instance of men of much higher rank than Sir William Windsor uniting themselves to creatures not more respectable than king Edward's mistress. The learned editor of the chronicle quoted in the text, in one of his admirable notes (*Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 235), furnishes some valuable information relative to the intimacy existing between Sir William de Windsor, and Carte's "lady of sense and merit." He says, in conclusion, "It may be worthy of remark, that Wyndesore's second commission to govern Ireland appears in the same page of Rymer's *Fædera* with a grant from king Edward of certain jewels, goods, and chattels, formerly belonging to the late queen, to Alice Perrers, nuper uni domicellarum camera consortis nostræ Philippæ."—Vol. vii. p. 28. No doubt there were powerful inducements on the lady's side.

³ "Furthermore, yt was reported the sayed freir to have maid certain pictures, that is to wytt, of the king and Ales, by which with the powre and force of herbes, and hys conjurations in places, he mayde that Ales colde obteyne of the kinge what she wolde, as that famous magician Ver-

measures so frightened the woman that she willingly agreed to promise never again to approach the king, and having been bound to do this under the penalty of losing all her property if she failed, she was allowed to go about her business.

The faithful commons followed up their success, by desiring, before they broke up, that the king should be assisted in his government by twelve peers, any one of whom, if found unfaithful in the performance of his duties, or corrupt in the discharge of them, should be removed from the administration, be adjudged infamous ever after, forfeit five times the sum he had accepted, and his person be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Their desire was passed into a law, which the king ratified and confirmed. But this good understanding between king Edward and his parliament appears to have lasted only as long as that assembly continued sitting. No sooner was the government free from the fear of falling under its severe strictures and searching inquiries, than its director applied himself to establish his tottering authority on a stronger basis than ever; and the easy and credulous disposition of his father afforded him every facility for accomplishing such an object. The duke of Lancaster must have felt pretty secure of his power, when he had recourse to the bold step of liberating lord Latimer from his imprisonment and reinstating him in all his offices; and this nobleman must have possessed a singular extent of audacity, when he ventured to remove the new council of peers from the king, commanding them to depart to their houses, for, that the king had no need of their services; and with a stretch of arbitrary power, of which there are few examples on record, caused the statutes made in the last parliament to be proclaimed void and of no effect.

After this, it cannot be a matter of surprise that

tabanus of the kinge of Egypte; he mayde also, as they say Moses dyd in tymes paste, rynges of memorie and forgetfulness, and so the freir imagined, that so long as the king should use them, he should never want the remembrance of the foresayd harlott."—*MS. Harleian*, 6217.

Alice Perrers,¹ Sturry, and the rest, resumed their old places, and repeated their old offences. The only excuse for the conduct of the king is, that he seems to have been fast sinking into a state of imbecility. A life of extraordinary exertion, mental and bodily, had, at the age of sixty-four, reduced him to the physical and intellectual weakness of extreme old age. He seems to have suffered himself unresistingly to be the dupe and tool of the faction who had got possession of his person; and to his faithful commons, or any of the popular party, he no longer exhibited any of those signs of sympathy that had once so greatly encouraged them.

The duke of Lancaster and his associates were not content with regaining their authority; they could not rest satisfied without punishing the leaders of the movement by whom they had been so greatly alarmed. Sir Peter de la Mare was imprisoned in the castle of Newark, and the able William of Wyckham, bishop of Winchester, was deprived of "the temporal goods of his bishoprick," and forbade to come within twenty miles of the king's presence. These things, however, were not done without creating general dissatisfaction; and the duke of Lancaster became so obnoxious, that the most infamous stories regarding him were extensively circulated and readily believed. One of these made him out to be the child of a Flemish woman, adopted by the late queen as her own, and passed off as such to her lord, after having given birth at Ghent to a girl—children of that sex not being desired by one who cared only to be the father of a generation of heroes. Such an imposition, however, could never have been entertained for a moment by a woman so perfect in her relations as a wife and a mother as the amiable Philippa of Hainault.²

The king's illness increased towards the close of the

¹ One of her vagaries was to ride in a spectacle through the streets of London as "the Lady of the Sun."

² The story is said to have had for its authority the bishop of Winchester, who, it is reported, received it in confession from the queen; but it is worthy of consideration only as shewing the extreme unpopularity of its object.

year, which he passed at Havering at Bower, where he was left entirely to the care of Alice Perrers, who had, notwithstanding her liabilities for returning to him, taken up her old position, and, assisted by her daughter Isabel, was believed to be using such remedies for the prolongation of his life as were consistent with her disreputable character.¹ They were, however, but the subservient creatures of the now all-powerful John of Gaunt, who became as much dreaded by the shrinking nobility as he was hated by the despised commons. The earl of March, one of the most influential of the nobles, saw good reasons for removing himself out of the sphere of the duke of Lancaster's ambitious diplomacy, and by giving up his office of marshal of England, which was instantly bestowed upon Sir Henry Percy, a determined partisan of the duke's, he managed to escape the destruction with which he saw himself threatened, for the purpose of obtaining it. A tractable parliament was the next thing to be created, and every care was taken to have one of as different a spirit to the last as possible. The proper arrangements having been made, warrants were issued in the king's name for its assembling on the Monday after Christmas-day; and consequently, on that day, the members met for the despatch of business; there being of their number no more than twelve who were not the ready tools of the politic Lancaster, and these maintained their places, because it was found impossible to induce their constituents to allow of their being represented by any one else; the speaker now chosen, Sir Thomas Hungerford, was well known to be one of the duke's unscrupulous agents, and the majority was so overpowering, who were ready to be led by him, that the cause of the people was easily seen to be hopeless. Nevertheless the faithful few endeavoured to replace Sir Peter de la Mare in the position he so creditably filled in the last important

¹ The winter of this year is described by the chronicler as a very severe one; and the price of wine, owing to its abundance, was, and so continued, with little variation for two or three years, sixpence a gallon for white, and fourpence for red wine.

sessions, and spoke in his favour with more boldness than discretion; but open threats being used against them, they found themselves obliged to give an unwilling acquiescence to the policy they condemned. Every kind of influence was used to secure the measures desired by the cabal in power, cajolery and intimidation being most frequently applied, and rarely did either fail.

Notwithstanding the duke's success there remained a powerful body which he neglected to gain over, who had more than one sufficient reason for being violently opposed to him. He had thought it necessary only to have the countenance of some of the higher prelates, but these he ultimately found powerless against the great body of the clergy, who, to shew with what feeling he was regarded, when a subsidy was demanded of them, made a complaint to the archbishop of Canterbury of the injury done to William of Wyckham and the church, by the treatment he had lately experienced, not forgetting to express their sentiments pretty freely as to the agency of the archbishop in the matter, and refusing to take the subsidy into consideration till the sentence which had been obtained against the bishop of Winchester was revoked, and he permitted to join in their deliberations. They urged their wishes with such effect that at last it was found expedient to comply with them, and the archbishop was allowed to summon the popular bishop to London, where he was received with much distinction by his reverend brethren, and with singular satisfaction by the people. It appears very probable that this unexpected opposition so incensed the duke of Lancaster that he began openly to favour the opinions of Wicliff, then attracting considerable attention by the boldness of his doctrines, the principal object of which was a reformation in the abuses of the church of Rome, and a denial of the spiritual authority of her chief officers.¹ Possibly the encouragement he afforded

¹ The good monk of St. Alban's, in the chronicle of which so much use has been made in these pages, establishes his orthodoxy by the most vehement abuse of Wicliff and all his supporters.

to a man whose powerful eloquence made him dreaded by the regular clergy, may have originally been adopted as a manœuvre to frighten them into the subserviency he required.

Whilst the audience of the reformer was composed only of the obscure and humble, who listened to him with more curiosity than conviction, the church he assailed regarded his opinions with indifference, but when the greatest personages in the land were found earnestly attentive to his doctrines, priest and prelate quickly awoke to a sense of their mutual danger, and Wicliff was summoned by the archbishop to appear before a convocation of the superior officers of the church to answer for his heresy, at St. Paul's church, on the 23d of February. With whatever feelings the bold reformer may have received this summons, it was determined by his powerful supporters that nothing should be wanted to make him an instrument to humble the obnoxious clergy; therefore, by the direction of the duke of Lancaster and Sir Henry Percy, Wicliff was accompanied to St. Paul's by a crowd of knights and nobles far more than sufficient to overawe an assembly of men of peace; and when there, they left nothing undone which could most insult the authority before whom he was summoned to appear. They insisted that Wicliff should sit down before his superiors, which the bishop of London opposed as unreasonable in the circumstances in which he was placed, and against all precedent. What follows the reader will prefer reading in the graphic narrative of the chronicle: "Hereupon very contumelious words did rise between Sir Henry Percy and the bishop, and the whole multitude began to be troubled, and then the duke began to reprehend the bishop, and the bishop to turn then on the duke again. The duke was ashamed that he could not in this strife prevail, and then began with froward threatenings to deal with the bishop, swearing that he would pull down both the pride of him and of all the bishops in England."

The duke continued this unseemly brawling in the church and against its minister, till getting further

provoked by the boldness of the prelate, was so indiscreet as to threaten to draw him from the church by the hair of his head. This sufficed to excite the anger of the good citizens, who, independently of his insulting behaviour to their bishop, regarded Lancaster with any thing but friendly feelings, for a design he was said to entertain to abolish their privileges; and he found himself obliged to withdraw. Humiliated and enraged by this interposition, he employed all his influence and that of the king's name to induce the parliament then sitting, the duke being president, to abolish the office of mayor of London in favour of that of captain, and authorise arrests in the city by the marshal; a worthy citizen, named John Philpot,¹ got up and opposed the measure, and the assembly broke up at noon without coming to any decision. The duke and his principal partisans had, however, done quite enough to throw the whole city into a state of ferment bordering on rebellion, and when assured by persons in their confidence that their liberties were in danger, and their friend and advocate, Sir Peter de la Mare, a prisoner in the custody of the marshal Sir Henry Percy, the Londoners quickly put on their armour and rushed to the marshal's inn, the door of which soon gave way to their fury. The prisoner was liberated, and his gyves burnt with every demonstration of triumph, and a strict search made for his enemies and theirs. Had not the duke of Lancaster and Sir Henry Percy had timely notice of this commotion, there is but little doubt their lives would have been sacrificed; for as the infuriated citizens were proceeding to the Savoy in search of them, they met one of the duke's inferior agents, who, making an indiscreet expression of his opinions, was presently

¹ This movement in favour of his fellow-citizens they gratefully acknowledged, by electing him their mayor, which dignity he filled the following year with great credit and spirit. "He hired, with his own money, 1000 soldiers, and defended the realm against the incursions of the enemy; so that in small time his hired men took John Mercer, a sea-rover, with all his ships, which he had before taken from Scarborough, and fifteen Spanish ships laden with great riches."—Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 261.

attacked by them and so beaten that he died a few days afterwards.

The bishop of London hastened to the duke's palace as soon as he had intelligence of the disturbance, and by his admonitions and entreaties succeeded in so far pacifying the rioters that they returned to their homes without proceeding any further against the duke,¹ contenting themselves with hanging up his arms as a sign of treason in one of the principal streets of the city. The duke of Lancaster and his associate had fled precipitately² to Kennington, the residence of the widow of the Black Prince, who was easily persuaded by them to use the influence of her name, which was very considerable, to allay the tumult; and with the hope of making peace between the duke and the citizens, she despatched to the latter three knights, well deserving their estimation as companions in arms of their still beloved prince, her lamented lord; and these were Aubrey de Vere, Simon Burley, and Lewis Clifford. They were received with singular respect by the citizens, who expressed themselves willing to "do for her honour whatever she had commanded," provided the bishop of Winchester and Sir Peter de la Mare were tried for their alleged offences by a proper tribunal, after the custom of the laws of the realm. This provision was repeated to the duke, who found in the report that was given him of the conference any thing but matter of congratulation; there was, how-

¹ One of his followers, by way of bravado, rode up and down the streets, displaying some fine decoration which it had been the duke's pleasure his partisans should wear; but he got such a drubbing that he was glad to save his life with the sacrifice of his badge. "After which dedde," says the chronicler, "it was a sight to see the vanity of fortune: those to whom the duke had given such collars, whose pryde (pride) the earth was scarce able to beare, now became so humble that they gladly gat them from there necks, and hyd them from syght in there bosoms or sleeves, with these afore they thought to gayn heaven and earthe: and as before they made them known and feared, so now, the case being altered, they made them contemptible and subject."

² They were enjoying a supper of oysters when the news reached them, and they quitted their meal with such haste that the duke is described as stumbling over the furniture of the room, and hurting both his legs.—*Hart. MS.* 6217.

ever, a truce entered into between him and the offended citizens, with whom he is soon afterwards found on more amicable terms.

The king had all this time been carefully kept in the background, but this seclusion was no longer to be allowed, those who were dissatisfied with the present order of things determined to carry their complaints to him in person; and although the duke strove to prevent this, by representing the injury such an interview might have in the critical state of the king's health if any thing that passed should move him to anger, they would not listen to his excuses, but persisted, through their leader John Philpot, in their demand to have speech with him, affirming that what they had to say was more likely to mitigate his sickness than augment it. He was obliged to allow them access to their sovereign, to whom they excused themselves for the late disturbances, saying they were the acts of a few whom they knew not, and asked if he authorised the proceedings in parliament which threatened their liberties. The aged monarch seems to have been gratified by their coming and the manner in which they had expressed their grievances, of which there is no difficulty in believing he had been kept in entire ignorance. He answered them with his usual kindness that he would not be the diminishing of their liberties; no, he was rather ready, if need were, to augment them, neither did any such resolution as had been referred to him ever come out of his mouth. Therefore, he encouraged them not to fear, commanding them to depart home, to appease the people, and to keep them in peace.¹

With this interview the Londoners were so well satisfied that they became so far reconciled to the duke of Lancaster, they were easily persuaded to discourage any of his defamers, and they made no resistance to a public excommunication by the bishop of Bangor of such as had been most violent against him. All parties appear to have recovered their good

¹ *MS. Harl. 6217.*

humour, and a tax of four-pence per head for every lay person, male and female, throughout the kingdom,¹ was consented to by the knights of the shire, and the clergy agreed that the same impost should be levied upon them. The knights, entirely at the disposal of the duke, also proceeded to disannul the proceedings of the last parliament against lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and Richard Lyons; by which they drew much obloquy on their proceedings.²

The satisfaction of the worthy citizens of London was by no means participated in by the restless and discontented John of Gaunt. His pride had received too signal a humbling to be readily forgotten by one of so haughty and vindictive a spirit; and having obtained, through the subserviency of the commons and the clergy, the grants for which he alone had assumed a more endurable bearing towards them, he now determined to shew the Londoners he was not to be braved with impunity. He procured from the king, by what representations are not known, warrants commanding the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and the great men of the city, to appear before him without delay "at his manore of Shene;" and there, with more of wonder than alarm, accordingly they presented themselves. They beheld their beloved monarch, "placed in a certain chair and sytting like an image, and not able well to speak for the manifold griefs that he had by his sickness, and certain bishops with the archbishop, the duke, and the kyng's sons, with many lords and honourable men sitting about him."

This was, doubtless, formidable enough to simple citizens, who knew not for what purpose they had

¹ ROT. PARL. iii. p. 364.

² The monk of St. Alban's, in particular, is exceedingly severe upon them for their "faynt-heartedness," and considers that all sense of virtue had ceased to remain in their hearts. He strongly objects to the tax, saying very shrewdly, "Although he yt be less than other pensions, yett, notwithstandinge, yt ys an inducement of many evill customes to come, which perchance may brynge most grevous burdens to our posteritye, and in this case that sentence also ys yt to be feared, he that despises the least thynges, by lytle and lytle he shall fall into the greatest."

been summoned from their own humble homes to meet so grave an assembly in the king's palace; but Sir Robert Aston, a creature of Lancaster's, soon enlightened them on this point. He commenced a good set oration, in which he placed before them a terrific prospect of their offences against the duke, and one still less agreeable of the punishment which awaited them.¹ The Londoners must surely have been made of very stubborn materials, for they answered by their leaders without being at all frightened. They denied having conspired against the duke or consented to any thing to his disparagement; and protested against being punished for the acts of the foolish people whose offences they could neither foresee nor prevent; but to shew they were not factiously disposed, they promised to use their best exertions to make the offenders give satisfaction, and to do all that was in their power for the duke's honour. This reply appears to have made a favourable impression on the king, who, notwithstanding he allowed his authority to be usurped, was rarely found to act unjustly against any class of his subjects, when enabled to judge of their case from personal observation. The citizens, exceedingly to their content, were dismissed without any thing further said or done; but the next day they were privately sent for by the king, who possibly thought his son's authority might suffer if they escaped altogether harmless, and he commanded them to call all their fellow-citizens together for the purpose of making "one searge"—a wax candle—which was to have upon it the arms of the duke; this they were to carry in solemn procession to St. Paul's church, where it was to burn, before the image of the Virgin, at the sole cost and charge of the city.

The mayor and aldermen too sincerely respected their king, to oppose his commands, but these were so unpalatable to the commonalty, that when the crier

¹ The orator is stated to have said, in a part of his speech, "The offence truly is greate and notorious, and the like haythe not bene sene in our dayes, and therefore yt ys convenient that with a grevous revengement yt be punyshed;" and much more to the same purpose.

was sent round to collect them for the procession, they would have nothing to do with it. The authorities, under these circumstances, proceeded to St. Paul's by themselves, and burnt the candle as they had been directed. Far was this from reconciling the duke to the citizens; indeed, in his discontent, he let fall some ambiguous words to this effect, *that they knew his mind, and were not ignorant how to make satisfaction.* The Londoners presently interpreted this speech into a desire that he should be proclaimed king, which they were not slow to make him understand, should never be done;¹ and, as may naturally be expected, "they departed asunder, worse friends with him than they were before."² He continued his unprincipled course, and so generally was he and his coadjutors detested, that there only wanted a sufficiently exciting cause for another outbreak, more violent than the one that had just subsided. With such a disposition as his, such a cause was soon given. There had been some intention of sending out a great naval expedition, and the fleet were collected in the Thames, the sailors frequently making their appearance in the city. A courtier, supposed to be in the service of Alice Perrers, slew one of them, as it is said, at her instigation. His associates caused the homicide to be prosecuted in the Marshalsea, but finding that there was not the most remote chance of their obtaining justice, took the law into their own hands, seized upon the man, and had him hanged upon a gibbet; so little, too, did they court concealment, that they caused what they had done to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet. In their numbers they were not more formidable than in their spirit, for they shewed such a determination to stand by each other, that it was thought advisable to take no notice of the matter.³

Attempts were made to bring about a peace with France; the earl of Salisbury, and Sir Guichard d'Angle,

¹ That he had such a desire is hardly credible. Richard of Bordeaux was as much beloved as his uncle was disliked, and notwithstanding the latter's powerful position, all England would have been up in arms against him had he dared at this period to attempt to rob his nephew of his birthright.

² *Hartl. MS.* 6217.

³ *Ibid.*

being sent as ambassadors to the king of France, with instructions, either to obtain a lasting peace or a truce for two years. A truce for one month was all that their now powerful enemies would allow, and this was indignantly refused. Whilst the negotiations were proceeding, the French galleys attacked an English ship, which so exasperated Sir Hugh Calverley, then governor of Calais, that he made an incursion into the French territory, in which he did great damage, and brought back considerable booty. The ambassadors returned with nothing better by way of consolation to those by whom they were sent, than the threats of a war more disastrous than any they had yet experienced.

The poor king bowed down with his infirmities, as wretched in mind as in body, with discontent and riot at home, and a disgraceful reverse to his arms abroad, now began to sink so rapidly, that those who had him in their custody could not conceal from themselves what little advantage there could possibly be in paying him any further attention. That he was dying, was evident to all, and all began to desert his couch; some with the most unfeeling haste, others with as little honesty as sympathy. The worthless favourite, Alice Perrers, to whom he had been so prodigally generous, is stated not to have left him till she had taken whatever she could lay her hands upon, even to the rings on his fingers; and the wretched monarch found himself deserted in his last moments, as though less deserving regard than the humblest of his subjects. One faithful priest alone kept at his bedside, and he performed his duty boldly, yet with a proper Christian spirit.

"This man," says the old chronicler, "lamenting the king's misery, and inwardly touched with grief of heart, for that amongst so many counsellors which he had, there was none which would say unto him the words of life, came boldly unto him and admonished him to lift up the eyes, as well of his body as his heart, unto God; and with signs to ask Him mercy, whose majesty he well knew he had grievously offended. The king then presently listened to the advice of the priest, and although he had a little before wanted the use of

his voice, yet then, taking strength to him without help, seemed to speak what was in his mind; and then, what for weakness of his body, contrition of his heart, and sobbing, his voice and speech failed, and scarce half pronouncing this word 'Jesu,' he with this last word made an end of his speech."¹

The zealous priest continued to admonish his dying monarch with the most impressive eloquence, bidding him repent of his sins; and although the use of speech was denied him, he satisfied his companion by signs, lifting up his eyes and his hands to heaven, and drawing sighs, as it were, from the bottom of his heart; that he listened in a devout spirit to his exhortation to forgive his enemies, the king gave evidence of his fully doing so, equally satisfactory.

"Then the priest brought unto him the crucifix," continues the chronicle: "This! saith he, is the image of our Lord Jesus, who vouchsafed to suffer for us, that he might bring us to his glory; worship it, and pray that Christ may, for his passion sake, receive your repentance, and lovingly forgive all your sins. By and by he took the cross in his hands, and with tears and sighing, he put it to his mouth, devoutly worshipping and kissing the same, and within a little while after he yielded his spirit unto God."²

History can produce several instances of men, after rising apparently to the highest elevation of human greatness, sinking to the lowest depths of humiliation and helplessness; our own annals furnishing more than one striking example; but the story of Edward of Windsor possesses features which render it much more remarkable than any of them. Usually, the eminence which has been achieved has been irregularly obtained and carelessly lost; but in the career of the brave and wise Plantagenet, till his vigorous mind became enfeebled by over-exertion, and brought to second childishness, it will be seen that no man ever arrived at distinction by more honourable means, or maintained it with a higher degree of credit. The circumstances

¹ *Harl. MS.* 6217.

² *Ibid.*

in which he was placed were also exceedingly unfavourable to the developement of that amount of moral worth and enlightened government, which, according to our notions, should characterise a great king.

It seems but too evident that Edward's career of conquest, with all the questionable acts with which it was supported, was not only productive of no benefit to himself and the nation, but created an infinity of mischief to both. But it should be remembered that the best measures may often be made to change their tendency by accident, and it can be clearly established that the grand project of consolidating the different governments in the island into one kingdom, and of uniting the powerful states of France and England into one supreme empire, was annihilated by the fatal expedition of his heroic son into Spain. It may be said that the treaty of Bretigny put an end to every idea of a junction of the two kingdoms; but the considerable English principality, its provisions created out of the French territory, ought to be considered a very decisive step towards it; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that had Pedro the Cruel fulfilled his obligations, and the Black Prince returned to Aquitaine in the perfect enjoyment of his faculties, with his vassals and adherents full of confidence in their leader, and flushed with their successes, the first hostilities on the part of the king of France would have led to as great a change in the government of that country as followed the battle of Hastings in England. With regard to the ill effects which resulted from the immense wear and tear of human life and human energy Edward of Windsor brought with him into the field, they are, of course, very much to be deplored; but surely they were not unattended with good, although that good was not so immediate as he desired. Who shall say that the splendid victories of Cressy and Poitiers were barren advantages? To how many heroic deeds, to what high-minded resolves did they not contribute among the martial youth of England for many a year after? And who shall say that the impression the armies of king Edward and his gallant son created on

the Continent did not preserve our country throughout the long and bitter days of trouble with which she was so soon afterwards afflicted, from the visitation of the invader? The measures of this illustrious prince cannot be pronounced to have been useless while such a lesson exists for his warlike countrymen as he wrote in imperishable characters on an enemy's soil.

It must not be forgotten that Edward found time, notwithstanding the incessant wars, on sea and on land, in which he was engaged, to afford a liberal patronage to the arts of peace. He was the patron of Lawrence Minot, who took his Scottish wars as subjects for his muse; and that he merited such patronage Mr. Ritson has proved by the interesting collection he formed of this early poet's productions. Even amid the despotic enactments that crowd his statute-books, there will be found many wise and judicious laws. His encouragement of learning made his reign famous for scholars and poets: such was his regard for commerce that his merchants were considered companions for the greatest princes. His munificence made England renowned through all surrounding nations for the splendour of her pageants, the profusion of her banquets, and the richness of her decorations; and her edifices were made to combine a very high degree of external beauty, with a display of luxury and state hitherto unknown even among the wealthiest of the nobles.

The memory of Edward of Windsor was held in great respect by the people of England for many years after his decease, pleasing evidence of which exists in an elegy on his death, to be found in the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian Library.¹ It is by no means an unfavourable specimen of the cultivation of poetry in the English language, by a contemporary of Chaucer and Gower.

Edward of Windsor is described by the best authorities as possessed of a majestic figure and handsome features, gifted with very superior abilities, courteous, munificent, and chivalrous to a proverb.

¹ It is printed in the 18th volume of the *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, p. 21.

The only portrait extant of him is in the possession of John Harrison, esq., at Snelston Hall, Derby, which Mr. Harding's faithful pencil has transferred to the frontispiece to this volume. His monument, a magnificent one ornamented with metal shields, beautifully enamelled, blazoned with the royal arms and the cross of St. George, is on the south side of Edward the Confessor's chapel in Westminster abbey.

In his careful observance of the usages of chivalry, he did not forget to pay due attention to heraldic distinctions. He was the first of our kings who quartered the arms of France with England, as may be seen in the great seal struck in the year 1340. This was to declare his pretensions to the throne of his grandfather: but these quarterings were continued by the kings of England long after their claim had been consigned to oblivion. The *badges* used by Edward of Windsor on different occasions are very numerous: the following are those best known:—I. An eagle displayed of gold. This crest he afterwards, 1335, granted to William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, and from the same distinction an officer at arms, called "Eagle Pursuivant," received his designation. II. A stock of a tree, couped and eradicated, of gold, with two green sprigs issuing from it. This approaches to what is called *canting heraldry*, for it was borne in allusion to the royal manor of Woodstock, where his son, the Black Prince, was born. III. A golden *fleur-de-lis*; another reference to his claim to the throne of France. IV. Golden sunbeams issuing from clouds, borne as founder of the order of the garter. V. Clouds, bearing his initial E, in gold, upon them, embroidered upon some of the robes. VI. Clouds, encircled by vine-branches of gold, bearing a motto, "It is as it is." This was worked upon his doublet. VII. A red chapeau, faced with ermine, bearing on the top a sword erect, the blade entiled with three open crowns of gold,—borne, most probably, in allusion to his pretensions to the kingdoms of England, France, and Scotland. VIII. A golden griffin,—a crest used on his privy seal. IX. A lion rampant, holding a banner of blue and red, bearing the

rays of the sun issuing from clouds. X. A white falcon, membered and belted gold, rising from a green mount,—used as a supporter to the royal arms, subsequently to the creation of the institution of knights of the garter. There was also the white swan, borne by Edward at tournaments, as mentioned in a preceding page.

Edward of Windsor was married but once, and by his excellent queen Philippa of Hainault he was blessed with an unusually large family :—

1. Edward of Woodstock, so celebrated in history as the Black Prince.
2. William of Hatfield, who died in his childhood.
3. Lionel of Antwerp; he married first Elizabeth de Burgh, heir of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, whose title he received by creation. He afterwards married Violante, daughter of John Galeazza, duke of Milan, shortly after which he died in Italy, and was buried at Pavia.
4. John of Gaunt; he married Blanche, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, to whose title he succeeded by creation. Secondly, Constance, eldest daughter of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, in whose right, at the death of Pedro, he took upon himself the title of king of Castile. And lastly, Catherine Swynford, widow of Sir Otes Swynford. He died in 1398, and was buried in St. Paul's.
5. Edmund of Langley, duke of York, married Isabel, another daughter of Pedro the Cruel, and afterwards Joan, daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent. He died in 1402, and was buried in Langley abbey.
6. William of Windsor. Died in his infancy.
7. Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, Northampton, and Essex, duke of Albemarle and of Gloucester. He married Eleanor, one of the two daughters of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton. He was murdered in 1397. He is buried in Westminster abbey.
8. Isabel, married to Ingelram de Coucy, lord of Coucy, and earl of Soissons. The time of her death is not known, but she was buried in the church of the Friars minors, without Aldgate.
- 9 and 10. Joan and Blanche, born in the Tower. The former was affianced to Pedro the Cruel,

and on her road to his kingdom died of the plague. Her younger sister died in her infancy. 11. Mary, wife of John Montford, earl of Brittany. Died in 1363. 12. Margaret, wife of John Hastings, earl of Pembroke. Died in 1375.

There is some reason for believing that Edward had two daughters by Alice Perrers.

His will is to be found in the collection of *Royal and Noble Wills* so ably edited by Mr. Nichols.

EDWARD OF WOODSTOCK, K.G.

LORD OF BISCAI, EARL OF CHESTER, DUKE OF CORNWALL, PRINCE OF WALES, AND PRINCE OF AQUITAINE.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Edward of Woodstock—His Parents—Gratification of the People—Satisfaction of King Edward—His Liberality—Happiness of Queen Philippa—Her Character as a Mother—Edward of Woodstock created Earl of Chester—Property granted to him to maintain his Dignity—A Wife proposed for him—Dr. Burley becomes his Tutor—Plan he adopts to advance his Pupil in his Studies—The young Earl is made the First Duke created in this Country, obtaining Valuable Estates at the same Time—Uses the Privilege of conferring Knighthood—The King and Queen assist to a great extent in forwarding his Education—The Duke of Cornwall brought into Public Notice—He is appointed Warden of the Realm in the absence of King Edward—He joins the King at Antwerp—Another Matrimonial Scheme—His Studies—He is created Prince of Wales—Additions to his Income—His Military Education superintended by his Father—The means the King adopted to secure a favourable development of Character—Institution of the Feast of the Round Table—Knightly Accomplishments—Jacob von Artevelde's attempt to exclude the Reigning Family of Flanders in favour of the Prince of Wales—Voyage of the Prince to Sluys—Von Artevelde slain by his Fellow Citizens—Return of the Prince to England—The King is incensed against the Flemings—Their Exertions to disarm his Resentment—A Third Wife proposed for the Prince—Progress of his Martial Education—The Prince's Prodigality—He sails with an immense Armament commanded by King Edward for the Invasion of France—Receives the honour of Knighthood from his Father—Practical Lessons in the Art of War.

“ON the 17th¹ of the calends of July, being after our account, the 15th of June, and on Friday at ten of the clock in the morning,² the queen Philippa of England was at Woodstock, near Oxford, delivered of her first-born son, a very fair, lusty, and well-formed

¹ KNIGHTON, 2558.

² SANDFORD'S *Genealogical History*, p. 181; ASHMOLE, p. 670.

infant, who was christened by the name of his father, Edward."¹ Such is the account given by one of the most industrious historians who flourished in the seventeenth century; and in fixing the date of the birth of this illustrious prince, he has evidently taken more than ordinary pains, correcting the error of Walsingham, Speed, John of Tinemouth,² and Giovanni Villani, the Florentine historian, who place that event in the previous year 1329; the two last writers making a still greater mistake, by styling the royal infant Edward the Fourth. An author of our own times,³ who appears to have examined many sources of information, is satisfied of the correctness of this statement. My MS. corroborates Barnes stating "he was borne the 15th daye of June in the fourth yeere of the rayne of his father."

Edward the Third had been married more than two years, and his subjects, with whom he was generally popular, notwithstanding the anomalous position in which he was placed by the intrigues of Mortimer, looked forward with great anxiety for the birth of a son by his marriage with the amiable Philippa of Hainault; and although the accomplishment of their hopes was deferred, it cannot be said that the delay was extraordinary, for, at the time of their prince's birth, his royal father had but attained his eighteenth year, and the queen was his junior by some two or three months.

The birth of Edward of Woodstock was hailed by the young king with such intense gratification, that he rewarded a gentleman who brought him the intelligence, whose name was Thomas Priour, with a grant of forty marks a-year out of his exchequer, till he should settle lands upon him to the same value.⁴ His bounty was

¹ BARNES, p. 44.

² JOH. TINEMOUTH, p. 229.

³ JAMES' *History of Edward the Black Prince*. Second edition, 1839. Vol. i. p. 32, note.

⁴ Thomas Priour was returned a burgess for Hertford, to the parliament at Westminster—(*Parliamentary Writs 7th of Edward II.*, A.D. 1313)—his younger brother, John Priour, was sheriff of London, and from this John an ancient family in Hertfordshire are supposed to be descended.

also directed towards those immediately in attendance on the royal infant; ten pounds a-year being allowed to Joan of Oxford, his nurse, and ten marks a-year to Matilda Frampton, the *Bersutrix*, or rocker; nor less joyous were his subjects, who testified their satisfaction as publicly as possible through every part of the kingdom. Happy were they who could contrive to gain a sight of their prince; and they were sure of finding crowds of eager and delighted listeners whilst they descanted on the beauty of his shape, the largeness of his size, and the firm contexture of his body."¹

There can be but little doubt that in the midst of this universal rejoicing the heart of queen Philippa was the most truly happy. She was proud of her offspring, delighted with the general enthusiasm his birth created, and too anxious for his health to allow another to fulfil her natural duties towards him; and she pursued this praiseworthy line of conduct with each of her numerous family, without its producing any injurious effects upon her figure or constitution. This behaviour of the young wife has been generally lauded by the chroniclers of the time. "And truly," says the learned Barnes, "it was not only the manner of this queen (who exceeded most ladies in the world for sweetness of nature and virtuous disposition) thus to bring up her own offspring herself; but we find it customary for the queens of England and other princesses to do so, as well before as some time after. However, the delicate madams of our time think it below their care."²

This Thomas Priour had two sons, he held considerable property both in Essex, and Oxfordshire, and was living at Woodstock; being a man of good repute, he was sent for by the officers of the queen's household, at the time queen Philippa was at Woodstock, on the occasion of the birth of her eldest son; he was admitted to the queen's bedchamber, to see the royal infant, and as a witness of his birth, he was immediately dispatched with a message to inform the king, who was then at Walten, of the news. The grant is headed, "pro Thomæ Priour super nativitate Edwardi, primo-genito regis."—MS. 3, in *Turr. Lond.* A.D. 1331.

¹ BARNES, p. 44.

² On this subject there can be nothing better than bishop Taylor's admirable discourse *On Nursing Children in Imitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

Under such a careful and affectionate custodian, it is not surprising that the infancy of the prince should throughout have been distinguished by extraordinary health and vigour. Both as a proper provision for his maintenance, and a distinction his honourable birth required, in his third year prince Edward received from his father by charter, dated the 18th of May, the title of earl of Chester,¹ with certain lands, castles, and other property, in that county; and the day following, the better to enable him to maintain his dignity, he was presented with a grant of all the corn, in granges or in the fields, "the arms, victuals, cattle, goods, and chattels, in all the said castles, lands, and other places, to him before granted, together with all debts, arrearages of accounts, and other services due to himself."²

Though still an infant, he was not too young to be an object of political interest, and a wife was proposed for him by his father, in the person of Joanna, the youngest daughter of Philip de Valois, king of France; and the marriage began to be named in treaties and discussed by ambassadors between the two monarchs;³ but it was much more necessary that he should have a tutor than a wife, and this want was speedily supplied, and no less satisfactorily, by his mother's almoner, Dr. Walter Burley, a scholar of considerable reputation, who had received his education at Merton College,

¹ ROT. PAT. 4 EDW. III.; ROT. LIBERAT. 5 EDW. III.; ROT. CLAUS. 10 EDW. III. ASHMOLE, p. 670; BARNES, p. 45.

² Such is the statement to be found in the usual authorities, particularly confirmed by a reference to the *Patent*, *Liberate*, and *Close Rolls*, BARNES and JAMES. But my MS. says, "Hee was, in the 7th yeere of his father's raigne created earl of Chester and Flint, and by the same charter (here the date is given in the margin), 18 Martij. Anº. 7 Edw. III. had the revenues thereof granted unto him in possession, he being at that tyme about 3 yeeres old, and no more."

"Hee had alsoe granted unto him all the goods, chattells, and store of cattell, which the king had then uppon anie of the lands of the said earledom." Opposite to this, in the margin,—is "Charter 19 Martij.—Anº. 7 Edw. III." Here is a difference of two months in the dates of the charter; but the mistake probably arose from the resemblance of *Maij* and *Martij*, as written in that document.

³ RYMER, 2d October, 1332.

Oxford.¹ That Dr. Burley paid every possible attention to his pupil there is sufficient authority for believing. To advance his studies, he had for his fellow-students several youths of noble families, among whom was a near kinsman of the doctor's, Simon, son of Sir John Burley, who so ingratiated himself with the prince as to be honoured with his favour, which in after years proved greatly to his advantage. The emulation likely to be excited by such an association had the best results; the young earl of Chester making most satisfactory progress in all that then formed the groundwork of the education of a prince.

In his son's seventh year, at the death of John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall, king Edward created him duke of Cornwall,² at a full parliament held at Westminster, on the 17th of March, 1337, presenting him with his charter of creation, and girding him with a sword. This was the origin of the ducal title in this country.³ The new-created duke immediately exercised the privilege this distinction allowed him, by conferring the honour of knighthood on twenty of the bravest young gentlemen of his father's court.⁴

He thus became possessed of extensive and valuable property in Cornwall and other counties, with the valuable stannaries, the coinage of tin, and all the proceeds

¹ HOLINSHED, *English Chronicle*, p. 1002. To Dr. Burley is attributed the *Liber de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum et Poetarum*, printed at Nuremberg, 1479. He is thus mentioned by Pitsæus:—"Gualterus Burlæus, vir acutissimi ingenii et philosophorum sui temporis facile princeps. Fuit aliquando Gulielmi Oceani Parisiis condiscipulus sub magistro Joanne Scoto, subtili doctore, sed suis præceptoris in Anglia postea devenit acerrimus impugnator, eminentem ejus in philosophia scientiam, et subtilis ingenii miram felicitatem, scripta quæ post se reliquit abunde testantur."—*Pitsæi Relationes Historice de Rebus Anglicis*.

² ASHMOLE, p. 670.

³ "Hee was, moreover," says my MS., "by auctoritie of parliament before that time, vizt. in the 11. yere of the king his father's raigne, created duke of Cornewall, uppon the death of John of Eltham, his uncle, who was the last earle of Cornewall. And had, by the same charter (the date is given in the margin), 17 Martij, An^o. 11 Edw. III. granted unto him in possession the revenues of the duchie of Cornewall. And all the profits of the ports, which was dewe to the crowne, within the countie of Cornewall, hee being then by the like computation, but about the age of seaven yeares."—SELDEN's *Titles of Honour*; KNIGHTON, 2568.

⁴ STOW, p. 233; HOLINSHED, p. 900.

and profits thence arising, as also the profits and perquisites of the courts of the stannaries, except only 1000 marks granted to William Montagn, then earl of Salisbury, and his heirs, out of the proceeds, till lands were provided for the earl of that yearly value.¹

But whatever credit may be due to the learned Doctor Burley for the degree of instruction he gave his royal pupil, there is good grounds for conjecturing that, in his education, he received very important assistance both from queen Philippa and king Edward. The former, by her affectionate counsels and the influence of her amiable nature, moulded his disposition to a generous sympathy with all that was kind and noble in humanity : nor was she deficient in intellectual power to lead her son's mind to the contemplation of the highest truths of moral doctrine, or to impress on it a proper sense of every social and religious obligation. The martial spirit of the king, his remarkable sagacity and extraordinary decision of character, did also their office, and did their office well. The boy's earliest impressions he took care should bear a warlike aspect; and the aspirations of the youth were as attentively directed to purposes that were manly, chivalrous, and ennobling.

To enable his son to acquire as quickly as possible those habits of business necessary for the fulfilment of the duties he would be called upon to perform, to impress on his mind a sense of their responsibility, and perhaps to draw the nobles, the clergy, and the people towards him, as closely as was expedient, he lost no opportunity of bringing him into public notice. When the pope² sent into England the cardinal of St. Praxed, and the cardinal of St. Mary in Aquira, as mediators between the kings of France and England, according to the king's order, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Coventry, and Lichfield, with the mayor and aldermen of the city of London, went forth in state to meet them on Shooter's Hill; and the young duke of Cornwall, with the earl

¹ BARNES, p. 45.

² ASHMOLE, p. 649.

of Surrey and many others of the nobility, received them a mile without the city.¹

When Edward left the kingdom in July 1338, the young prince was named *custos*, or warden of the realm; and a council, of which the archbishop of Canterbury was a member, was appointed to afford him every necessary assistance.² In the same month he is found holding a parliament at Northampton,³ where supplies were obtained to a considerable amount⁴ to assist the king in carrying on the war he was then waging.

In the following year the king kept his Christmas at Antwerp with great splendour, where the queen and her ladies were already assembled; and "to adorn the solemnity the better," he sent for prince Edward,⁵ whose graceful figure, even at that early period, was much commended by the lords and ladies of the court. Here another match was set on foot, and the lady now chosen for him was the duke of Brabant's fair daughter, the lady Margaret, then but four years old;⁶ but this met with the fate of the other, the alleged cause of breaking it off being the disinclination of the pontiff, through the intrigues of the French king, to grant a

¹ HOLINSHED, *English Chronicle*, p. 901.

² RYMER, tom. ii. part 4. My MS. authority here differs again from the ordinary accounts. The writer says, "Lastlie hee was by auctoritie of parliament made viceroye, or guardian of the kingdome, during the time that the king his father was beyonde the seas." And by another charter (the dates of both are given in the margin), An^o. 14 Edw. III. 27 Majj, *Parliament Rolls*; An^o. 14 Edw. III. charter, 28 Majj; An^o. 14 Edw. III. of the same date, there was assigned unto him "certen noblemen to be of his counsell in the governm^t. of the realm during y^e king's absence."

"And by this auctoritie," the writer adds lower down the page, "he summoned and contynewed parliaments, granted letters patentes, and did all" * * * Unfortunately the vellum has been cut in such a manner as to render the last line illegible. In the *Parliament Rolls*, in which this distinction is recorded, it is mentioned in the following words: "Il est assensus et accordez, que monseigneur le duc de Cornuall soit gardien d'Engleterre en absence nostre seigneur le roy," &c.

³ BARNES, p. 125.

⁴ KNIGHTON, 2571. The three counties of Leicester, Lincoln, and Northampton, only, being taxed in 1211 sacks of wool. Besides which, he had an aid of the bishops, abbots, priors, rectors, vicars, and justices, who went not with him to the war, of some 100*l.* a piece, others 200*l.*, according to their estates and abilities.

⁵ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 132.

⁶ SANDFORD, p. 184.

dispensation, as the parties were within the third degree of consanguinity.¹ King Edward gave another evidence of his liberality towards his heir, in the shape of some valuable church revenues.

In consequence of the young warden of England being abroad when the next session of parliament approached, a commission was appointed, consisting of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the dean of York, Sir John Willoughby (the deputy lord chief justice), Sir John Stonore (justice of the king's bench), and Sir John St. Paul, to begin, continue, and end the parliament, for and in the name of the king and of the lord warden of England, until his or his father's return.²

Forced so unusually early into public life, it might be supposed that the duke of Cornwall's education would in consequence have suffered from neglect, as it is scarcely to be expected that, under such circumstances, the usual degree of attention could be bestowed upon it; but so far from this being the case, there are many evidences to be met with which shew that he was quite as forward in the learning usually possessed by the young nobility of his age as any of his associates. Nevertheless, being made a constant spectator of martial shows and games, hearing continually of the great achievements of his heroic father, and enjoying the society of many of the bravest spirits of the time, it is not surprising that his mind should, in his early youth, have shewn a more decided tendency for the accomplishments of the warrior than for those of the scholar.

In the following two or three years he is found exercising the office of lieutenant of the kingdom, and in his place in parliament, by his presence at least, helping to obtain those liberal supplies which were voted for his father's use, whilst pursuing his career of conquest on the other side of the Channel. At the

¹ ASHMOLE, p. 675.

² The commission began "*Eduardus D. Gr.*" &c. and ended, "*Teste Eduardo, duce Cornubiæ et Com. Cestr. filio nostro charissimo, gardiano de Angl.*"

return of the king, a parliament was held at his palace of Westminster, on the 28th day of April, 1343, wherein one of the first acts of the monarch was the creating of his son prince of Wales,¹ which was done by investing him with a coronet, a gold ring and a silver rod (a gold rod was subsequently used), with an exceedingly impressive ceremony. Liberal grants were conferred at the same time for the purpose of enabling the prince to maintain a proper appearance, which, added to his former gifts, made a very handsome revenue. The addition made to the prince's income, he now received, consisted of the royal domains in Wales, with the goods and chattels, victuals, arms, horses, oxen, cows, claims and dues in the principality belonging to the king.² Festivities and chivalric

¹ ASHMOLE'S *Garter*, p. 671, et *MS. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C.* c. 226. In the original letters patent the initial letter represents king Edward standing under a canopy of state, conferring this distinction on his son.

² ROT. PAT. 17 Edw. III. The particulars of this grant are enumerated in a writ directed to William Emelden, ordering him to deliver them to the prince or his attorney, together with this dignity.—BARNES, p. 273. The MS. account of the princes of Wales in my possession says, "This prince, Edward of Wyndesor, being, after the death of his father, king, by the name of king Edward the Third, did, by the authoritie of parliament, in the 17th yeere of his raigne, create his soune Edward, sur-named the Black Prince, to be prince of Wales, with the principallitie and the revenewes thereof in possession. And the lands of Rice ap Marydick attaynted, hee being then about 13 yeeres old." The references in the margin are, "*Charter*, 12 *Maij*, an. 17 *Edw. III.*" and "*Termino Michis. An.* 18 *Edw. III. Rotula* 6, *ex parte Rememoratores Thesaurarij in Curi Secij.*" "Hee had also graunted unto him by those charters (named in the margin), *Charter*, 12 *Maij*, an. 17 *Edw. III. et Charter*, 18 *Martij*, anno 7 *Edw. III.*: the advowsons of all the cathedrall churches. The avoydance of bishopricks, and the issues and profitts of the temporalities of bishopricks, abbies, chauntries, and colledges, with all the proffitts to the said principallitie and earledome, or to the king in those parts belonging, being about 10 yeeres old as aforesaid." The yearly revenue of the prince is thus given by the same authority:—

"And nowe to sett downe after a perfect manner what all the yeerlie revenewes of the principallitie of Wales, the duchie of Cornewall, and the earledome of Chester, in those daies did amount unto, over and besides the principallitie of Aquitaine, and the severall stocks and stores of cattell and arrerays of rent before spoken of. It is to be understood

Comission of survey and the proceedings thereuppon Anº. 50 Edw. III. Remayninge amongst y^e records, Tower of London.

shows followed the investiture of this new dignity, in which the nobles vied with their monarch in doing honour to the occasion.

With this period may fairly have commenced his martial education, and no effort was spared by his gallant father to make it as perfect as the heroic character of the times required. The prince possessed an important advantage in having for his principal instructor one so near and dear to him, who, besides being adorned with every knightly accomplishment, was so little advanced in the period of manhood as to be able to enjoy the pleasures of youth with as fresh a spirit as could have been evinced by his son. There was a difference only of eighteen years between their ages, so that they stood in that respect more like a younger and elder brother, than a parent and child. Companionship on such a footing could scarcely fail of having the best result. The pupil loved his mentor with that enthusiasm which ennobling impressions excite in the youthful intellect disposed to receive them, and strove earnestly to imitate the qualities he could not contemplate without admiration; whilst the master putting aside his kingly character, influenced by the pride both of the father and of the teacher, regarded the promise of excellence his instruction every day brought forth, as fresh impulses to exertion, and every day found their effects in a stronger appeal to his pride and to his affections.

The military spirit which was so prominent a

that by an exact survey of extent taken
upon the death of this prince theretrie to
allott unto the princesse, his wief, a full
third part for her dower. Then did

that whole re- venewe yeerlie in rents of as- sisse and other profits, amount unto y ^e some of, viz.—	li. s. d.			li. s. d.
The principalltie of Wales	4871	12	6½	} 9982 12 8½."
The duchie of Cornewall..	3415	18	5½	
The earledome of Chester	1695	1	8	

In adding these sums the writer has made the total a penny more than it ought to be. Such a sum at the present day would be equivalent to 100,000*l*.

feature throughout the reign of king Edward, he fostered in his son by means of every available resource, not the least effective of which was the military spectacles, which at that period made England appear one vast theatre of arms, to which flocked crowds of valiant adventurers from all parts of Christian Europe, with the hope of advancement, or the expectation of pleasure.

Though the prince was as yet too young to share in the dangers of the tournament, he was being carefully qualified to endure them. The education of the body was of far more consequence in that warlike age than that of the mind—a capability of great and continued muscular exertion being the first requisite in an aspirant for the honours of knighthood. It, therefore, became necessary that his youthful limbs should be inured to the weight of the armour then in fashion, and should obtain the physical power required, when fully armed, to employ his weapons with effect. The satisfaction exhibited by the people of England at beholding in the person of their prince indications of an athletic manhood, may readily be understood, and in many of the old chronicles are to be found evidences of the great pleasure with which these indications were generally regarded.

His gallant father took every advantage of this feeling, and continued to bring the prince before the public eye on every occasion. He sat with the king in full parliament in 1344; but he was brought forward more prominently in the following year, when he accompanied him on a visit to the people of Flanders, which had for its object, by means of the extraordinary influence of Jacob von Artevelde over his fellow-countrymen, the setting aside the supremacy of their lord, who was attached to the interests of France, on consideration that the king should endow the young prince of Wales with the government of the country, and raise the earldom of Flanders into a dukedom.

These conditions having been agreed to, about the feast of St. John the Baptist, king Edward left his

son Lionel his lieutenant during his absence,¹ and accompanied by the prince and a splendid retinue, sailed from Sandwich with a powerful armament, and speedily appeared before Sluys. The chief men of Flanders were magnificently entertained² by the monarch on board his ship "the Catherine," and after they had freely partaken of his hospitality, Jacob von Artevelde rose, and directing his speech to the Flemings, began extolling the king of England's great power, either to protect his friends or to punish his enemies.

But in this important business von Artevelde had been proceeding with an indiscreet haste, either over-estimating his power over his countrymen, or not considering sufficiently their political prejudices. It is true that they were well disposed towards the king of England, and greatly admired his young and promising son,—it is equally certain that the able man who sought to persuade them to submit to "the honourable government" of the prince of Wales and his illustrious father, had, for some time past, been regarded by them as their guardian and leader, and whose lightest wish was sure of receiving unqualified obedience; but the respect they owed to their hereditary lords had been so firmly fixed in all their habits of thinking and feeling, that the eloquence even of this well-established favourite, not only could not shake it in the slightest degree, but the originating such a proposition made them begin to look upon him with distrust and disaffection.

There does not appear to have been the usual prudence shewn by king Edward in committing himself with von Artevelde, before he had ascertained how the object to be obtained by him was looked upon by the Flemings. It was too bold an experiment to have been so rashly hazarded, as nothing held so firm a hold upon the habits of the people as the supremacy of their natural superiors. It may be easily imagined

¹ *Abrégé de l'Histoire de France*, by Le Sieur de MEZERAY, p. 23, *ad hunc ann.*

² BARNES, p. 322; FROISSART, chap. cxv.

that the worthy burgesses did not relish the proposition, which had been so craftily put to them, indeed, they were greatly incensed against von Artevelde for entertaining such a purpose;¹ yet they hesitated about offending so powerful a monarch as Edward the Third. They gave an evasive reply, and required a month's delay to enable them to consult their fellow-citizens.

Vainly did von Artevelde, seconded by the king, attempt to persuade the burgesses into their views,—the eloquence of the popular orator, once so resistless, now fell upon an audience deaf to his most powerful appeals, and the sovereign, whose slightest suggestion they would, on other occasions, have invested with the influence of a law, was now heard with no other impression than a constrained and cold respect.

King Edward did not like this appearance of things. In his opinion it not only was exceedingly prejudicial to his son's pretensions to the earldom of Flanders, but it was fraught with mischief to his esteemed friend and ally, the brewer of Ghent; and under the impression that the latter had placed himself in a situation of imminent danger, he begged of him to take a body-guard of 500 Welsh foot,² under the command of Sir John Maltravers, sen., and Sir William Sturry, when again he mingled with his countrymen as usual, and he endeavoured to impress on his mind the necessity of being very cautious in his proceedings.³ Though von Artevelde appeared to treat the matter lightly, he accepted the escort, and with them proceeded on his journey.

Long before he could reach Ghent, the minds of a very large majority of its inhabitants had been in-

¹ Mr. James is of opinion that a powerful party had been formed against this extraordinary man upon motives unconnected with his partiality to England, and seems to imagine that a conflict that took place in May 1345, between two of the principal trades at Ghent, in which immense numbers were slain on both sides, was their first act of hostility.—*Edward the Black Prince*, vol. i. p. 313.

² HOLINSHED, *English Chronicle*, p. 926.

³ *The Chronicle of Flanders*, p. 177, states, that von Artevelde petitioned Edward for assistance, when he discovered the critical situation in which he had placed himself.

flamed against him by artful representations created by his enemies, the chief of whom was Gerard Denis, an influential burgess, holding the office of dean of the weavers, a man of inordinate ambition and little talent, who had for some time been desirous of overthrowing his powerful rival. By stating that von Artevelde was attempting to depose their rightful lord, and introduce an alien to rule over them, they readily created general murmurs among the commons; but when they more earnestly asserted that he had gathered in the whole revenues of Flanders for the last seven years, of which he had given no account, but squandered vast sums, and secretly conveyed the rest to England as a provision when he had ruined his country, they broke out into open threats, and evidently intended to call him to a severe account.

Jacob von Artevelde first proceeded to the towns of Bruges and Ypres, where, notwithstanding the efforts made to prejudice the people against him, he succeeded in satisfying their minds of the honesty of his intentions and the policy of his views. He then hastened, with increased confidence, to Ghent, with only a portion of his escort. The inhabitants were prepared for his visit.¹ He had scarcely obtained access to his house when it was attacked by a tumultuous body of armed citizens, and in the riot he was miserably slain.

Thus perished one of the most remarkable men of an age, fruitful, in an extraordinary degree, of minds of the same vigorous stamp. As a popular leader, he was very superior either to Rienzi or Masaniello, but his fate was as little creditable as theirs to the power that had given him his dangerous pre-eminence. He had ruled with singular ability, at a period when ruling was a very difficult art to practise satisfactorily, one

¹ Now see how unfortunately it fell out, for if he had gone to Ghent instead of to Bruges and Ypres, and had remonstrated with them upon the quarrel of the king of England, they would all have consented to his wishes, as those of the two above-mentioned towns had done; but he trusted so much to his prosperity and greatness, that he thought he would recover every thing back in a little time.—*FROISSART*, chap. cxv.

of the most factious and turbulent communities in Europe, and he had been hastily sacrificed by his countrymen to an intrigue set on foot by men jealous of his popularity, who possessed not the slightest pretensions to fill the void created by his death. As for the accusations with which his memory has been loaded, the greater portion are unworthy of credit, having their source in the party whose enmity cost him his life; and the rest disclose rather the imperfections of the age than his criminality. It is impossible to read dispassionately the course of his extraordinary career, imperfectly as we are allowed to become acquainted with it, without coming to the conclusion that it is scarcely too much to class him amongst the greatest men of the age in which he lived.¹

King Edward both admired and respected his unfortunate ally, from whom he had received good services on many occasions, and when he heard of his death he felt no less indignation than regret. Terrible were the threats he expressed against the murderous Flemings,² as he set sail with the prince of Wales to return to his own country, but their leaders, who had now leisure to behold the mischief they had done, and to fear the consequences with which it might be followed, used every exertion to pacify him and excuse themselves. They solemnly swore "that they knew nothing of the matter till it was done; and that if they had, he was the man whom, to the best of their powers, they would have defended; and that they were extremely concerned for his death, for he had governed their country very wisely and to their great advantage."³

This was said by a deputation of burgesses from the most powerful towns of Flanders, except Ghent, who had proceeded to Westminster on a safe conduct which

¹ JAMES, vol. i. p. 322. The strong prejudice that entertaining, rather than faithful, chronicler, Froissart, has exhibited against von Artevelde, is easily accounted for — the latter did not belong to the class whose deeds he delighted to dwell upon.

² BARNES, p. 524.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxv.

they had asked for, for the express purpose of deprecating king Edward's resentment. They also promised that the town of Ghent should make satisfaction for the murder; and whilst excusing themselves from removing their allegiance from their hereditary lords, they made the following proposition, which they hoped would at least prove their desire for an intimate alliance with England: "Sir," said they to the king, "you have a fair and noble progeny, both sons and daughters; and as for the prince of Wales, your eldest son, he cannot choose but be a great prince, without the accession of Flanders. But then, sir, you have a young daughter, and we have a young lord, the earl's son, who is the heir apparent of Flanders, and he is now in our custody. So that, if it please you to make a match between a daughter of yours and this lord, the earldom of Flanders will be for ever after in the hands of your posterity."

These and other protestations and promises completely pacified the enraged monarch, and the Flemings were again taken into favour. Instead of fulfilling his threats, he published a proclamation, declaring his voyage to Flanders had re-established his interests in that country, and that he was more generally acknowledged by its inhabitants legitimate king of France than ever he had been before.¹

How the young prince digested his disappointment we are not told, but probably it had very little effect upon him, and other objects soon obliterated whatever impression it might have made. Prominent amongst these was a project set on foot for his marriage with a daughter of Alphonso the Brave, king of Portugal, which, however, met with the fate of its predecessors. A French historian,² not satisfied with the numerous schemes that really existed for making the youthful prince a husband, ventures to mention an alliance

¹ RYMER, tom. ii. part iv. p. 185. FROISSART says, "These speeches softened very much the anger and ill-will of the king of England, and in the end both he and the Flemings were equally satisfied with each other. Thus, by degrees, was the death of Jacob von Artevelde forgotten."—Chap. cxv.

² MEZERAY, p. 24.

proposed by the Flemings with the daughter of their lord, which could never have been entertained, as the earl of Flanders had no daughter to marry.

But there were other matters at that time much more likely to attract his attention. He was now entering his sixteenth year, and busily engaged in perfecting himself in every knightly accomplishment. Sufficient has already been said of his appearance, to prepare the reader for the handsome features, and person no less graceful than vigorous, which now began to be conspicuous in the military spectacles and games his gallant father delighted to encourage. If example had any efficacy in teaching, few scholars could have been so well off in that respect as the prince of Wales, for he had constantly before his eyes many of the most distinguished knights in Christendom, and the associates of his own age were such only as shewed promise of high daring, and were influenced by a proper chivalrous enthusiasm. Several of these youthful aspirants for the honours and dangers of knight-hood ultimately proved themselves well worthy of their association, for their names will be found conspicuous in the list of heroic spirits which the wars of Edward and his son brought into active developement.

Amongst the lessons with which his mind was inculcated, the one most readily and completely learned appears to have been munificence. In the present age, this would not escape being called extravagance, and be condemned as partaking very largely of folly and criminality, but we know not how necessary it was to enable the young prince to sustain his princely character, not only according to his ideas of it, but according to the conceptions of those by whom he was likely to be most powerfully influenced.¹ His father was prodigal to a fault, indeed excessive expenditure was generally regarded as a proper accompaniment to high station; and in deference to this impression, every great commander sought to distinguish himself by display-

¹ It was absolutely necessary for every leader desirous of establishing a reputation in the world of chivalry, to display an extent of generosity which, in these economical times, appears incredible.

ing as little prudence in his expenses as it was possible for him to possess: often with great inconvenience to himself and others. But no one felt this more severely than the king of England and the prince of Wales, and no one profited so little by the very unpleasant lessons they were then taught.

The young prince was now actively preparing to commence his martial career, and to do so with proper effect he was induced to maintain an enormous military establishment. As the armament his father was now collecting for the invasion of France did not leave the English shores for at least a year after the time it was expected to sail, he was put to an immense expense in maintaining his portion of it during the interval. This led him to contract very heavy debts, which so pressed upon him that the king allowed him to convey his property by will to executors empowered to hold his lands and enjoy their proceeds for one year after his decease.¹

At this period all England rang with preparations for the approaching campaign, and amongst those who were most impatient of the delay which their magnitude occasioned, was the youthful hero to whom all the chivalry of the kingdom looked with mingled pride and hope. At last, about the middle of the month of July 1346,² the fleet, consisting of 1600 vessels, large and small,³ according to some authorities, but of a much less number according to others,⁴ sailed from the Isle of Wight. The prince of Wales was in the king's ship, and as he gazed upon the magnificent armament, stretching far and wide over the sea, with what pride and exultation must he have regarded a spectacle so capable of making a powerful impression on a youthful mind! During the voyage he had ample time to enjoy his own speculations. In his situation they could not have been otherwise than pleasurable: hopes of honourable renown and prospects of glorious achievements

¹ RYMER, tom. ii. part iv. p. 201.

² *IBID.* p. 202.

³ KNIGHTON, 1585.

⁴ STOW says 1000; SPEED, about the same number; GIOVANNI VILLANI, 600; and MEZERAY, 200.

must have mingled largely with his desire to shew himself worthy of the father he had the good fortune to possess. The view of the hostile coast was not likely to extinguish his ardent aspirations, though he was forced to interrupt them to join in the general preparations for disembarkation. The quota he had been called upon to furnish from the principality consisted of 3550 men. Wales, however, contributed to the English army in all no less than 12,000 men. As yet he was not allowed a separate command; but that distinction was only delayed till he had obtained a sufficient insight into military affairs.

The first step towards it, he obtained at La Hogue in Normandy, where the army disembarked, on the 18th of July, by receiving from the hands of his father, the honour of knighthood,¹ at which time he was exactly sixteen years and twenty-seven days old.² The ceremony was conducted with peculiar solemnity, to the great gratification of the warlike spectators. Soon afterwards he accompanied the king in the march of the army through the enemy's country, and was enabled to see sufficient of the practice of war in the skirmishes, sieges, and assaults that followed, to give him a very tolerable idea of what would be required of him when he became an actor in such doings instead of a spectator.

The lessons he received were not lost upon him. He proceeded on his course, advancing as rapidly in his military education as did his warlike parent in his career of conquest, till they reached Poissy;³ where, whilst king Edward held his court in the Abbey, the prince of Wales held his, with almost equal state, in another magnificent building in the neighbourhood; and here they celebrated the festival of the Assumption with so much splendour as to have excited the astonishment of the chroniclers of the time.

The progress of the English army from La Hogue to the field of Cressy has already been narrated.⁴

¹ RYMER, vol. ii. part iv. p. 205.

² BARNES, p. 341.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxiv.

⁴ See *Life of Edward of Windsor*, Chap. vii.

Requesting the reader to bear in mind the circumstances under which the rival armaments were brought in opposition to each other, in the next chapter he will be made a spectator of the most memorable contest upon record.

Now an opportunity offered for Edward of Woodstock to shew what proficiency he had made in his military studies, and in availing himself of it, he was to commence in earnest his career, in the knightly character he had loved to contemplate, and aspired so fervently to possess.

CHAPTER II.

King Edward commits to the Prince of Wales the Command of the principal division of his Army—Arrangements of the English to meet the Enemy—The Battle of Cressy—Terrible attack of the French on the division of the Prince of Wales—His Gallantry—His Friends send to the King for Assistance—The King's Answer—The French Beaten Back—Charge of the Prince on their Broken Columns—Heroic Conduct and Death of the old King of Bohemia—The Prince of Wales's Feathers—Complete Defeat of the French—Meeting of King Edward and his Son after the Battle—Humility of the Victors—Admiration of the English Army of the Bravery and Modesty of the Prince of Wales—The Prince at the Camp before Calais—Appears before the Parliament at Westminster to hasten the Supplies—Returns to Calais—Intercedes after its Surrender for the Lives of the Burgesses—Obtains his First separate Command—His increasing Reputation—Returns with the King to England—Warlike Entertainments given in his Honour—Distinguishes himself at Tournaments—Delights in Field-Sports—Cultivates a literary Taste—Accompanies his Father in Disguise to repel an attempted Seizure of Calais by the French—Rescues him when surrounded by the Enemy—A Banquet given by the King—The Prince serves in the First Course—Institution of the Order of the Garter—The Prince created the First Knight—Judicial Combat—An English Fleet—The Prince commands one of the principal Ships—His daring Attack on a Spanish Ship of the largest size while his own is sinking—Appearance of the Prince on his coming of Age—His Gallantries at that Period—He quells a Riot in Cheshire—Extensive Preparations for an Invasion of France—Sensation produced in England when it became known that the Expedition was to be under the Command of the Prince of Wales.

ALL the preliminary arrangements having been completed by the two armies, as far as taking up their proper positions, and the king of England having retired to his post of observation, the combatants waited for the signal of attack. That the battle would be a fierce one, he could not have entertained a doubt; but like gold that is tried in the furnace, its fierceness would but the better try the metal of his heroic son.

It is not difficult to imagine what were the young prince's feelings at receiving the command of a fine body of men, consisting of 800 men-at-arms, 4000

archers, and 6000 "valiant Welshmen."¹ He took up his position on the right, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Godfrey of Harcourt, Ralph Stafford, John de la Ware, Thomas Holland, Reginald Cobham, Bartholomew Burwash and his son, and lord John Bohun, his son-in-law; lords Robert Bouchier, John Chandos and Thomas Clifford, with several of the most distinguished knights in the English army. His archers were placed in the form of a harrow, about 200 in front, and 40 in depth, at the bottom of which stood the young prince on foot, in the midst of his square battalion of men-at-arms.² He was not destined to wait long. From their immense army of upwards of 100,000 men,³ a detachment of 15,000 of the Genoese cross-bowmen approached to commence the battle, commanded by Doria and Grimaldi, names celebrated in European warfare. They had had to march three leagues that day, which greatly disinclined them to put forth any extraordinary exertions on behalf of their monarch;⁴ and a storm of rain coming on, as may be supposed, did not make them more desirous of the conflict;⁵ nevertheless, they proceeded forward with a proper martial bearing, and in their usual manner, "making a great leap and shouting horribly to amaze their enemies, who yet stood still with their bows ready and their arrows nocked."⁶ The rain passed harmlessly over the prince's troops, and the sun, which just then burst out from a cloud behind them, making a spacious rainbow, dazzled so the sight of their foes, that they could not well take aim. Still they advanced shouting and leaping. The well-disciplined English archers all this while neither moved nor spoke. At last the Genoese took a last leap, and raised a last shout, and being within shot of their enemies, they let

¹ GIOVANNI VILLANI, lxii. c. 66, p. 877. FROISSART reduces the archers one half, and the Welsh foot to 1000.

² HOLINSHED, p. 933.

³ FROISSART, chap. cxxxii.; MEZERAY, p. 26.

⁴ BARNES, p. 357.

⁵ VILLANI, p. 876; KNIGHTON, 2587; MEZERAY, p. 27; FROISSART, SPEED, HOLINSHED, and WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 157.

⁶ BARNES, p. 358.

fly a cloud of quarrels; but these fell short of their mark in consequence of the rain having slackened their bow-strings. Then the English archers, whose bows had been protected by their cases during the recent storm, advanced one pace, and drawing their arrows home, discharged them simultaneously amongst the approaching Genoese, with such irresistible force, and with so admirable an aim, that the latter, panic-struck by the immense slaughter it occasioned, would not wait to receive a second flight; but flinging away their arms, endeavoured to disperse as speedily as they could.¹ King Philip beheld their cowardice with the greatest indignation, and gave orders to slay them as they fled,² and an attempt was made to cut a way through them to commence a charge upon the English, which presently threw that part of the French army into confusion; the cavalry struggling to break through the infantry, and the latter striving earnestly to retreat behind them. Some sought to save themselves by hamstringing the horses. The English archers, taking advantage of this state of things, poured in their deadly shower without ceasing, and whilst horse and foot were entangled together on the ground, "certain rough fellows among the English" rushed in upon them, and with long knives soon put an end to the struggles of some hundreds, with a total indifference to their rank or reputation.

The second battalion of the French army, under the command of the count d'Alençon, ultimately made their way to the prince of Wales, who had advanced to meet them, and attacked the men-at-arms around him with terrible impetuosity. The young commander was placed in a very critical situation—opposed to a vastly superior force composed of the flower of French chivalry, he and his gallant band were forced to ply their weapons with all their skill and strength, and with barely a moment's intermission; for scarcely had they succeeded in hewing down such of their enemies as pressed most closely upon them, when they were

¹ BARNES, p. 358.

² DU SERRES; FROISSART. This scene, as described in the quaint language of lord BERNERS, well deserves a perusal.

beset as closely by another phalanx, which, when broken and overthrown, was immediately replaced by a third, equally close in their ranks and fierce in their attack. The French authorities describe the attack of the count d'Alençon as very spirited, and state that the prince of Wales would have fallen into the power of his enemies, but for the courage of one of his knights, Sir Richard de Beaumont, who carried the great banner of the principality, which he threw over his chief, placed his feet upon it, and with his sword in both hands, kept off his assailants till succour arrived.¹

The counts d'Alençon and de Ponthieu, finding their division was forced to give way, made an attempt to turn the king of England's position, and commenced an attack by the way of the ravine on the side of Wadicourt; but as fast as they made their troops come up, the English archers, under cover of their palisades and wagons, brought them to the ground. In the assault on these entrenchments, the Frenchmen were slain in heaps, amongst whom were many noblemen and knights of distinction. The count d'Alençon and the duke de Lorraine fell in the first attack, and the count of Flanders shortly afterwards; but others, undeterred by their fate, pressed on, amongst whom the young count of Blois, dismounting with his household knights, fought his way forward on foot to the very standard of the prince of Wales, by whose hand he was slain.² King Philip was in a situation to observe the battle at this interesting point, and was inclined to march his own division in support of that part of his army so hotly engaged by the English; but an insurmountable obstacle lay in the way of his progress, in the contending Genoese and men-at-arms, who took up too much of the narrow field his foes had made choice of, to leave him room to employ his fresh troops without their becoming entangled with the still struggling masses.³

The prince succeeded in cutting to pieces the force sent against him; but this had scarcely been achieved, when three fresh squadrons of German cavalry broke

¹ LOUANDRE, *Histoire d'Abbeville*. BARON DE CONSTANT.

² JAMES, vol. i. p. 367.

³ BARNES, p. 358.

through the English archers, and made a furious charge upon the men-at-arms.¹ At this time nearly 40,000 men must have pressed round the little phalanx commanded by the prince of Wales, which being noticed by the earls of Northampton and Arundel, they, with the second division of the English army, advanced to his assistance. The contest raged with redoubled violence—no quarter was given—none expected on either side. Each man sought his opponent, and, if successful, slew him on the spot, and readily engaged with the next comer. The life of a noble was as little regarded as that of a man-at-arms. The most famous knight fared no better than the humblest esquire. The English had no hope of advancing, and entertained no desire to turn back, so that, impelled by a courage which could only have been developed in the extraordinary situation in which they were placed, they seemed, one and all, disposed to shew themselves capable of meeting its difficulties: their young commander setting them an example which astonished as much it delighted the veterans Chandos and Warwick, to whose guardianship he had been consigned.

The great preponderance of the French, and the belief that powerful reinforcements were approaching, induced the earl of Warwick to send for assistance to king Edward, who was carefully observing the progress of the battle from a neighbouring windmill.² The message was taken by a knight called Thomas of Norwich.

“Sir,” said he very urgently, “the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Reginald Cobham, are so fiercely fought withal, and so hard put to it by the French, that they are in much danger; wherefore they desire that you would please to set forward to their aid, for they are now disputing with the main strength of the enemy, so that if any more

¹ JAMES, vol. ii.

² BARNES, p. 358. A portion of this structure still remains, from which an enthusiastic antiquary, on a recent visit to the spot, succeeded in wrenching a fragment of one of the original timbers, and brought it away as a relic.

troops should break through upon them, both they, and the prince your son, would go nigh to miscarry."

"Well," said the king, who had obtained a thorough knowledge of the state of the field, and was too good a general not to be able to predict the result, "is my son dead, or wounded, or felled to the ground? for I see the French standards drop, and conclude no otherwise but that things are yet in good case."

"No, sir," replied Sir Thomas; "thanks be to God our prince is yet well, but he begins to want some assistance."

"Go you back," said the king, "and bid them that sent you to take care to trouble me no further while my son is alive; but let him take pains to win his own spurs, and to deserve the honour of knighthood, which I so lately conferred upon him; for I am resolved, by the grace of God," added he, in a spirit worthy of the father of such a son, "that the reputation of this glorious day shall fall to his portion and to those that are with him."¹

By the time their messenger had returned, the prince and his heroic associates had beaten back the forces of the enemy by whom they had been assailed, and when they became aware that it was the king's opinion they ought to be able to maintain their position without any assistance, they regretted having sent to him, and, as though in the desire to make amends for their error, speedily changed their defence into an attack.² They advanced in close order with the archers at each wing, and fell on the still superior forces of the French king with an impetuosity that

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxxix. LORD BERNERS' version of this passage is, as usual, peculiarly picturesque. French authors assert that the king did advance to his son's assistance as the latter was resisting the attack of the last division of the French army, under the command of the king of France. — LOUANDRE, *Histoire d'Abbeville*. BARON DE CONSTANT.

² Mr. James appears to prefer the account given by Froissart of this part of the battle to that to be found in Barnes; but I see nothing unreasonable in the idea that, having successfully defended his position against several fierce attacks, the prince of Wales should have advanced all the force at his command upon the dispirited and beaten enemy; and, after a sanguinary struggle, have driven his scattered hosts from the field.

could not be resisted.¹ The Frenchmen gave way, and the English pressed on, scattering dismay and death in their ranks. The sword, the battle-axe, the arrow, and the spear, in the hands of these gallant men, seem impelled with a force no armour could withstand. Every blow was the message of death; for if the crushed skull or maimed limb did not prove immediately fatal, the wounded had short sufferings,—the dying and the dead fell on them in heaps, beneath which they were speedily stifled, or were soon trampled to death in the *mêlée* of the furious combatants.

It was about this period of the battle that the king of Bohemia, who, though deprived of sight,² and afflicted with other infirmities of age, possessed as manly and gallant a spirit as the youngest knight in his company, obtained a knowledge of the state of the battle. He had been in many a hard-fought field, and had gained a great reputation for his valour and experience in martial affairs. Having joined the king of France, with his son Charles of Luxemburgh, his chief friends, and all their military power, he sat on his horse in a situation as close as possible to the scene in which he knew they were hotly engaged with the prince of Wales. He did not learn that most of the gallant noblemen and knights he had brought with him had been slain, or that his son, after beholding the fall of his own banner and the rout of his forces, had, as rapidly as three severe wounds he had received³ would allow, put his horse to its utmost speed, and throwing from him the rich surcoat of his arms to escape recognition, made off to the nearest place of safety;⁴ but the unsatisfactory answers he got to his eager questions excited the veteran's suspicion.

"Gallant sirs," he exclaimed, in an uncontrollable desire that the close of his career should not disgrace his reputation, "you are my vassals, my companions, my friends, in this expedition; I desire now only

¹ BARNES, p. 359.

² VILLANI, p. 878; MEZERAY, p. 27.

³ This deprivation has been attributed to poison.—BONAMY, *Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xxiii.

⁴ VILLANI, p. 878.

this last piece of service of you, that you will bring me forward so near to these English, that I may deal among them one good stroke of my sword."

The noblemen and knights around him readily undertook to fulfil his wishes. To prevent being separated, they fastened their horses together by their bridles, and with their blind sovereign in the midst of them, rushed into the thickest of the fight.¹ They succeeded in cutting their way to the immediate vicinity of the prince of Wales; the veteran dealt more than one good stroke of his sword, and his associates fully testified their devotion and gallantry; but they speedily disappeared from the scene, and the next day the bodies of the hero and his faithful friends were discovered grouped together in the position in which they had so bravely fought, with the bridles of their horses still firmly fastened.²

It has been stated on an authority I am not inclined to question,³ that the three ostrich-feathers, with the motto of *Ich Diene*, "I serve," the prominent cognisance of our princes of Wales, were borne on the field of Cressy on the banner of the king of Bohemia, and that Edward of Woodstock immediately adopted them, by right of conquest.⁴ There

¹ In the Welsh *Triads* there are mentioned instances of warriors connecting themselves together when going into battle in a manner very similar. "Tri Hualogion Deulu Ynis Prydain. Teulu Caswallawn Lawhir, à ddodasant hualan en meirch ar en traed hob ddau onaddynt, urth ymladd à Serigi Wyddel, y' Ngherrig y Gwyddyl ym Mon. À theulu Rhi, wallawn ab Urien, yn ymladd à 'r Saeson. A theulu Belyn o Lelyn, yn ymladd ag Edwyn, ym, Mryn Cenau, yn Rhôs." The three fettered tribes of the Isle of Britain; the tribe of Caswallan Longhau, who put the fetters or bands on their horses, on their feet two and two together, in fighting against Serigi the Irishman, at the Irish stones in Anglesea; and the tribe of Rhiwallon, the son of Urien, fighting against the Saxons; and the tribe of Belyn of Lley, fighting against Edwin, at Bryn Cenon in Rhos.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxix. A stone cross was erected to mark the spot where this brave monarch lost his life, which, after having been thrown down and neglected for many years, has been restored to its former position, or very near, and may be seen on the road marked in the map "Chemin de l'Armée." For an engraving of it see *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 192.

³ CAMDEN.

⁴ This will also be found fully stated in SANDFORD's *Genealogical His-*

exists no evidence to support this statement, except it be found in the consonance of such an appropriation with the spirit of the age; but there can be no doubt of the young hero's title to that and every other decoration by which he could have received the honour merited by his extraordinary bravery.

The battle is said to have lasted from before four o'clock in the morning till night,¹ and during the greater portion of this time the prince of Wales was personally engaged in the unequal contest, displaying a degree of courage, hardihood, and skill, that for many a year afterwards became a theme which made every tongue eloquent, from one end of England to the other. Nor did he lessen his exertions till the king of France had sought safety in flight, and his immense hosts were so overthrown and scattered that further conflict was not to be expected. Believing the victory to be entirely won, he then ordered lights and fires to be made, to direct the rest of the army where to find him; which presently brought his father, who, taking off his helmet for the first time during the day, embraced and caressed him with the most intense affection, and commended his conduct before all his nobles, in language worthy of the object and the occasion. The army that evening returned public thanks to the Creator for their success,² and received from the king a command to refrain from bragging songs and other insults to the enemy. High mass was sung with more than usual solemnity,³ and this great victory attributed solely to the favour of Providence.

The wants of the living who had so greatly exerted themselves were duly cared for, and the dead received honourable burial, particularly the veteran John of Luxemburgh, for whom, in respect to his memory, king Edward and all his nobles wore mourn-

tory, p. 182; and in many other works of an historical character. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion on this point amongst writers entitled to the reader's consideration. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 48, and WILLEMENT'S *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*.

¹ MEZERAY.

² FROISSART, chap. cxxx.

³ GIOVANNI VILLANI, lib. xii. c. lxvi. p. 878.

ing, and greatly lamented his death.¹ The English monarch caused his body to be carried in state to the abbey of Riscampo, to the marquis his son, by whom it was conveyed to Luxemburgh, where it was interred with a dignity worthy of the royal soldier's rank and reputation.² In the solemn obsequies that were performed for the gallant dead, the prince of Wales assisted in a spirit of the most sincere grief for the loss to the world of so many noble gentlemen; and his behaviour after this great and signal triumph was no less honourable to him than it had been throughout the terrible and trying scenes by which it was secured.³

The enthusiasm existing in the English camp for their youthful hero was as general as it was intense,—the veterans were fully as great admirers of his courage as the younger soldiers, and both, in no measured terms, expressed their satisfaction at the prospect such nobility of mind, thus early indicated, held

¹ GIOVANNI VILLANI, lib. xii. c. lxvi. p. 878; BARNES, p. 364. FROISSART says that king Edward sent lord Reginald Cobham, lord Stafford, and three heralds, to examine the arms of the dead and to write down their names; and that the list comprised eleven princes, 1200 knights, and 30,000 common men.—Chap. cxxxi.

² The French authorities state that his remains received honourable burial in the chapel of the neighbouring abbey of Valloires, where the following epitaph used to be shewn:—

“ L'an mil quarante six trois cents,
Comme la chronique tesmoigne,
Fut apporté et mis céans
Jean Luxembourg, Roi de Behagne.”

Bohemian historians, however, affirm that their king received sepulture in his own country. The Baron de Constant states that some of his remains have found their way to a private museum belonging to a manufacturer of porcelain at Treves.

³ A great deal of ingenuity has been expended by French authors in accounting for the defeat their countrymen experienced at Cressy; but Robert Gaguin lays the blame on the long vests worn by the French. Such garments were, however, adopted only by persons of some distinction, and were common to both nations. Jean Touchet, in his epitaph on Philip de Valois, says,

“ Puis a Crécy perdis de mes gindarmes,
Trente cinq mille, nonobstant leurs grands armes,
Par le moyen de leurs acoustemens
Et chaperons et autre vestemens,
Lesquels flottoient de toutes parts en terre,
Qui n'estoient bons pour gens de bien de guerre.”

out. Of the great generals under whose eyes he had distinguished himself, none regarded him more favourably than the valiant John Chandos—one of the ablest and most successful commanders of his age—who, from this time, shewed towards him a devotion that ended only with his life. The heroic prince received the commendations of such genial spirits with a graceful modesty, that was ever with him a distinguishing characteristic, that still more strongly recommended him to their admiration. Of the numerous reminiscences of this glorious day, treasured up to be circulated round the social hearths of England, none took so prominent a place as those that spoke of the gallant bearing of the youthful victor. His name became the property of the minstrels, and many a sounding verse was sung in hall and bower in honour of his prowess.

The extent to which he had profited by the lessons in war he had already received, appeared to his proud and happy father an excellent inducement to proceed in a similar course of study; therefore, taking the prince with him he marched to Calais,¹ where during its close blockade the young soldier had ample opportunity to improve his military education. Such was not likely to be lost upon him, but there exists no evidence that he was employed against the enemy in any action worthy of narration whilst he remained with the besieging forces, for it was thought proper he should return to England to hasten the necessary supplies from the parliament, which his appearance before them, whilst all England was ringing with his valour, was very likely to do, and with this design we find him in Westminster on the 18th of January, 1347.² After this business was accomplished he returned to the camp, and when the town had been won he is found interceding with king Edward for the lives of the burgesses of Calais, who, with ropes round their necks, had, as required, presented themselves to their conqueror.³

¹ FROISSART, chap. clxxxii.

² ASHMOLE, p. 707.

³ BARNES, p. 410.

On the 4th of August, he accompanied king Edward and queen Philippa in their triumphal entry into the surrendered city, and shared in the rejoicings which followed. But the pleasures which were then so liberally held out to all who had assisted in this hard-fought and brilliant campaign, enticing as they must have been, did not prevent him paying proper attention to the skilful arrangements of his father for fortifying and provisioning the town he had won.¹ This was one of those practical lessons which the king so well knew how to teach, and the prince was so well inclined to profit by. Nor could the visit of the noble-minded Philippa have been without its advantages to him, and we can easily imagine after the first fond embraces were passed, the gentle admonitions and affectionate reflections with which the loving mother addressed her heroic son.

At the acknowledged bravery of the prince, the satisfaction of the king must have been very great, and his confidence in his prudence and skill scarcely less so, for, shortly after the surrender of Calais, he was for the first time allowed a separate command,² on which occasion he led a strong detachment through the country of the enemy for about thirty leagues, to the banks of the Somme, doing much damage and collecting considerable booty, without experiencing any loss that deserved notice. Such results, in connexion with his youth, beauty, and admirable behaviour, could not fail of increasing the splendour of that reputation so brilliantly commenced on the field of Cressy. Under such circumstances, on the 12th of October³ following, he again set foot in England, having sailed in company with the king and queen from the shores where both father and son had distinguished themselves by achievements which render the narrative of them one of the most glorious pages of English history. Numerous were the entertainments which marked the return of the proud and happy monarch to his dominions, in which his principal

¹ FROISSART, chap. cxlvi.

² KNIGHTON, 2596.

³ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 23.

nobles vied with each other in giving costly shows of a military character principally for the gratification of the prince of Wales. He was no longer a spectator of the knightly deeds which the tournament exhibited ; he took his place amongst the best and bravest. At Canterbury he headed the challenges, which, besides himself, consisted of the earls of Lancaster and Suffolk, Sir John Grey, Sir John and Sir Roger Beauchamp, Sir Robert Mauley, and Sir John Chandos—the most celebrated knights at his father's court—all wearing harness presented by the king;¹ and bore himself as nobly as the worthiest. There were also magnificent jousts about the same time held at Eltham in Kent, at London, Westminster, Winchester, Windsor, and at other places, particularly at Lincoln, where a grand tournament was given by the duke of Lancaster,² at which were present, besides the countess and a brilliant throng of ladies, whose chief attraction doubtless was the gallant young prince of Wales, ambassadors from the king of Spain, who came to negotiate a marriage with one of the daughters of king Edward called “Joan of the Tower,” then in her thirteenth year, with the young infant of Castile and Leon.³ He was, of course, “the observed of all observers,” and his handsome and manly appearance, the skill he exhibited in the use of his weapons, and the gallantry with which he conducted himself on every occasion, appear to have won the hearts of all classes of his countrymen, and I need not hesitate to add of his countrywomen also.

“Sometimes,” says a recent narrator of these scenes, “he ran his course in the armour of another knight, sometimes he shewed himself in his own ; but he had by this time taken his spring forward from boyhood towards maturity, and with all the eager zeal of un-

¹ ASHMOLE, p. 185.

² STOW, p. 245. “A little after Easter there were great joustings holden at Lincolne by the duke of Lancaster, where were present many ladies with the countesse, and also certain messengers sent from the king of Spaine for the lady Jane, daughter to the king, that should be married to their master the king's sonne.”

³ Jane, or more correctly Joan, of the Tower, shortly afterwards died at Bordeaux, on her way to Spain, of the pestilence.

sated youth was constantly trying the new powers which he had acquired.”¹

Besides taking a conspicuous part in all such exhibitions, the young prince of Wales frequently shared in the sports of the field, a knowledge of which was not the least prized portion of the accomplishments of a nobleman of that day. King Edward was particularly fond of hunting, and often in his leisure enjoyed that manly sport on a grand scale :² “to chase the deer with hound and horn,” his eldest son rode with many a gallant party, and the forest paths of England echoed with their music. Nor was such an accomplishment by any means one of easy attainment, as it was necessary the sportsman should be familiar with a vast deal of minute technicalities before he could lay claim to any thing like proficiency in the hunter’s craft. Falconry was in no less estimation, and as the author from whom we have just quoted states, “when the king or the prince went to fly their hawks, long preparations and public announcements shewed the importance attached to the royal sport in the opinion of its followers.”³ The bridges were repaired beforehand, paths were opened by the river for the horsemen, and all persons were forbidden under severe penalties to disturb the game in the neighbourhood of the selected spot for many days before.”

It is not to be imagined that whilst in these entertainments the body was receiving its education, the mind was stationary. There was a certain degree of literary taste cultivated at this period among the most refined of the warlike nobility of the kingdom, in which it cannot be doubted the prince had some share. A considerable portion of his reading must have been derived from the metrical romancers and troubadours then in the zenith of their popularity.⁴ From this

¹ JAMES, vol. ii. p. 46.

² The contemporary poem of *Gaces de la Bigne* mentions the king’s skill in hunting with high praise.

³ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 24.

⁴ Blancasset, who died in 1300, was a military troubadour of considerable reputation. He served under Charles of Anjou in the conquest of Naples, and received from him, and also from his son Robert duke of

source his mind was filled with impressions of valour and courtesy which were never after effaced.

These amusements and studies were interrupted by preparations for war. Philip of France had been endeavouring to regain possession of Calais, and attempts had been made through the agency of Geoffrey de Charny,¹ the governor of St. Omer, to corrupt the officer, Ahneric of Pavia, who had been placed by king Edward in command of the castle. Negotiations had been carried on for some time, when Ahneric made his sovereign cognisant of the whole transaction, and by his desire they were still continued. Accompanied by the prince of Wales,² the king set sail with a force under the command of one of the most famous of his knights, Walter de Manny, he thought sufficient to annihilate a detachment of French troops, who were, according to agreement, to take possession of Calais on the night of the 1st of January, 1350.³ Edward and his son were disguised and fought like ordinary adventurers under Sir Walter's banner, but the king whilst attacking with his customary impetuosity the astonished Frenchmen, stood in great danger of being surrounded and cut off from his own men, from whom he had proceeded too far in advance, had not the prince—who had been no idle spectator of the stirring scene, having rushed into the fight wherever it was most hotly contested, and so conducted himself that both friends and foes who knew him not in his disguise marvelled who so valiant a knight could be—at the critical moment hurried to his father's rescue with his followers, whose desperate charge soon placed the king in safety.⁴

Calabria, to whom he dedicated a treatise with the title "*La maniera de ben guerriar*," in consideration of his services, some lands in Provence, where he spent a great part of his life. Gerard de Borneil of Limoges and the Monk of Montaudon were also in much repute in France and Italy.

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Regum Angliæ*; FROISSART, chap. cxlix.

² STOW, p. 248.

³ JAMES gives this date on the authority of Robert of Avesbury. The printed copies of FROISSART say 1348. Stow makes it the 13th of January, 1350, and BARNES, the morning of the 1st of January, 1349.

⁴ BARNES, p. 25. Stow says, "The armed men of both parts stood in order to fight upon a long and narrow causeway ye breadth whereof was

The object of the expedition was completely successful, and in the splendid supper with which the victors were entertained by the king in the great hall of the castle of Calais, the prince of Wales and the English noblemen and knights served in the first course, but at the second they sat down and partook of the feast with their sovereign.¹ This service is one of the characteristic features of the age, nor is it by any means the least pleasing or picturesque amongst them. It was intended to shew particular honour, as much to the giver of the feast as to his guests, and is not the only occasion on record in which the prince was so employed. Edward and his son returned home in triumph, and arrived in England in safety with the prisoners they had taken,² much to the satisfaction of the king's warlike subjects, to whom every fresh achievement gained by himself or his equally brave son was regarded as an additional appeal to their admiration and reverence. It was impossible for any monarch to have been more to the taste of his people, and his heir, being so thoroughly disposed to tread in his glorious steps, their hopes of the future were no less brilliant than their enjoyment in the present. Edward, with admirable policy, did all that was in his power to increase their gratification in military pursuits, and was continually devising something novel and attractive for that purpose. The most imposing of these experiments was the institution of the Order of the Garter,³ the first grand

not able to receive scarce twentye men of armes in a front having on both sides thereof the marish, in the which the archers were placed, who gawled and wounded their enemies on the sides, fleeing as thick as haille. The king and his men before, with his archers on the side, slew and tooke a great manie; and manie of them stoode stoutly to it, till at the length by the comming of the prince of Wales the French were put to flight."—P. 249.

¹ FROISSART, chap. cl.

² BARNES, p. 27.

³ STOW, p. 250. This historian gives the date mentioned in the text, "An. reg. 24;" BARNES, and ASHMOLE, *History of the Garter*, p. 185, the year previous; Dr. BRADY, *Complete History of England*, vol. ii. p. 247, in which he is followed by TYRRELL, *General History of England*, vol. iii. p. 561, and other historians, prefers the former date, in consequence of the severity with which the plague raged in and about London in the year 1349; which committed such ravages, it was found necessary that

festival of which was held at Windsor Castle, on St. George's day, the 23d of April of this year,¹ with ceremonies and entertainments of peculiar splendour. The prince of Wales, being the first knight of the order, took his usual distinguished place amongst the challengers. Notwithstanding an awful visitation of the plague in England nearly at the same time, these festivities attracted a vast concourse of gentle and simple, and public report spread so attractive an account of them, that all lovers of martial deeds and pageants, both at home and abroad, looked to the court of king Edward as the head-quarters of Christian chivalry.

A singular and highly characteristic circumstance in proof of this occurred a short time afterwards. The king of England received letters about the commencement of the month of June, bearing the signature of Thomas de la Marche, reported to be a natural son of Philip de Valois, praying for a safe conduct to visit England with thirty followers, for the purpose of fulfilling a vow he had made before the king of Sicily and his council, to clear himself from certain treasonable charges preferred against him in the presence of those honourable personages, on the part of John de Visconti, by judicial combat, which was to take place under the eyes of the warlike king of England and his chivalrous court.² The safe conduct having been readily granted, the king in person heard the accusation against Visconti, which was that he had taken bribes to deliver the king of Sicily, in whose army he held a command, and some of the most distinguished members of the council, into the hands of the enemy; followed by his asseverations that it was false, wicked, and malicious: and the accuser and the accused, professing their willingness to refer the decision of their cause to the sword, Edward appointed the combat to take place before him on the 4th of October, at the tilt-yard of the palace at Westminster.³ Such a spectacle was sure

parliament should be twice prorogued.—ROT. CLAUS. 22 Edw. III. par. 2, m. 7, Dors.; and Ibid. m. 3, Dors.

¹ ASHMOLE, p. 209.

² RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 54.

³ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 58.

to collect a large audience in England in those martial days; and amongst the nobles and knights who thronged to see it, Edward the Third and the prince of Wales were looked upon, and indeed acted, rather as judges than spectators. The combatants entered the lists completely armed on their chargers, gaily caparisoned, and, after the usual ceremonies, "there presently, upon sound of trumpet, began a most gallant combat between these two gentlemen, for at the tilt both their spears brake on each other's shields, yet neither of them was moved from his saddle, wherefore, as it were by consent, they both alighted at one instant, and renewed the combat on foot, till, having with equal valour and discretion fought a considerable while, both their weapons were rendered useless, and they were obliged to come to close grapple, till, by wrestling, they both fell locked together, still contending for the victory."¹

For the termination of the conflict, I prefer the quaint account of Stow, who says, "As they were striving together on the ground, with certain prickes both short and sharpe, then called gadlings, being closed in the joints of his right gauntlet, the said Thomas stroke the said John in the face, and sore wounded him: but, on the other side, John had no such short kind of weapon wherewith he might hurt Thomas's face, and therefore cried out aloud most horribly; whereupon, by the king's commandment, the combat was ended, and the victory adjudged to Thomas, who gave the said John, being thus overcome, to the prince of Wales, for a captive, and offered up his own armour to Saint George, in Saint Paul's Church at London, with great devotion."²

The prince of Wales, who had observed the combat

¹ BARNES, p. 453.

² STOW, p. 251. Mr. JAMES says (vol. ii. p. 77), "Barnes declares that the bastard of France had short spikes attached to his right gauntlet, which, as they rolled on the ground, he struck through the bars of Visconti's visor. The account of Edward, however, is more honourable to the French knight. He says, speaking of the bastard, "*Nullum omnino in dicta pugna, habuit læsionem: sed tam gratiose devicit, quòd opus divinum videbatur potius quam humanum.*" Barnes took his account from Stow, in the curious passage quoted above.

with singular interest, shewed particular attention to de la Marche during the few days he remained at his father's court after the duel;¹ and as for the captive, when by the law of arms he had been put completely at his mercy, the generous victor presented him to the gallant prince—already so famous in Europe—under whose eyes he had been fighting. Visconti was courteously treated, and then allowed to go at large without ransom.

This playing at war, rough sport as it often proved to many who joined in it, satisfied neither actors nor spectators. Work of a more hazardous nature, however, was preparing, and this under circumstances of increased peril,—which, by the way, served only as an additional recommendation to those who sought it. For some time past the English merchants² had suffered to such an extent from the attacks on their vessels by Spanish ships of superior force, who plundered them of their merchandise, and often murdered the crews,³ that after some unavailing remonstrances from the English monarch, threats were used, which the king of Spain noticed only by sending one of the most powerful armaments ever seen in those seas,⁴ to sweep the Channel of every ship that ventured to leave the English ports. Neither the king nor the people of England were likely to endure this state of things, and therefore a fleet was rapidly got together,⁵ and set sail about the middle of August—the king acting as admiral, and the prince of Wales having the command of one of the largest ships—to intercept the Spaniards in their return to their own country from Sluys, with the numerous prizes they had made. The Spanish armament was met with off Winchelsea, sailing in

¹ Sir Thomas de la Marche was shortly afterwards unjustly put to death by his half-brother the French king, ostensibly for not having submitted his quarrel to his own sovereign; but the real cause was the mingled jealousy and rage with which this mean monarch regarded the increasing reputation of king Edward.

² WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 160.

³ KNIGHTON, 2602.

⁴ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 55.

⁵ HOLINSHED, p. 945; Stow, p. 251; *MS. Vet. Ang. in Bib. Corp. Christ. Col. Cantab.* c. 224.

triumph, and their commanders were too well satisfied with the successes they had already obtained to avoid an engagement with a force the ships of which were scarcely half their size, and the men not more than a tenth of their number.¹

Notwithstanding this prodigious preponderance, the English fleet attacked the enemy with extraordinary fury, excited to it by the remembrance of the barbarities the Spaniards had inflicted on their merchants, and by the example of the king of England,² the prince of Wales, and their other great captains, who, in spite of the Spanish ships towering so much above them, and raining down a tremendous shower of the most destructive missiles, boldly steered towards the largest, fiercely grappled with them, and daringly endeavoured to carry them by boarding.³ The gallantry of the prince of Wales was as conspicuous as usual, but had nearly led to a tragic conclusion; for his gigantic opponent pierced his ship in several places with her crushing missiles, so that she began to sink from the vast volume of water rushing into her. Undaunted by his danger, the young captain set several of the mariners to bale out the water, whilst he and the most courageous of his crew sought to scale the lofty walls of the Spaniard. The furious and incessant discharge of bolts and arrows, heavy stones, and pots of quick-lime, showered down upon him, and the weapons of the crowd of men-at-arms who defended her deck, were obstacles in his position too great to be

¹ FROISSART, MS. in the Hafod Library, quoted by Colonel Johnes.

² ROBERTUS DE AVEBURY.

³ "The navies met at Winchelsea, where the great Spanish vessels, surmounting our ships and foysts, like as castles to cottages, sharply assailed our men. The stones and quarrels, flying from the tops, sore and cruelly wounded our men, who no less busie to fight aloof with lance and sword, and with the forward manfully defend themselves. At length our archers pierced their arbulisters with a further reach than they could strike again, and thereby compelled them to forsake their place, and caused others fighting from the hatches to shade themselves with tables of the ships, and compelled them that threw stones from the tops, so to hide them, that they durst not shew their heads, but tumbled down: then our men entering the Spanish vessels with swords and halberds, kill those they meet, within a while make voyd the vessels, and furnish them with Englishmen."—Srow, p. 250.

overcome, and, notwithstanding the bravery with which he had returned to the charge after being more than once repulsed, he and his valiant companions would have gone to the bottom of the sea with his sinking ship, had not the earl of Lancaster, in this critical moment, observing what was going on as he was seeking an opponent, brought his vessel to bear on the other side of the Spaniard, and attacked her with such impetuosity, that, unable to defend both sides against such furious assaults, she was soon boarded. A hand-to-hand struggle occurred on the deck with extraordinary fierceness. No quarter was given or required. With the timely assistance they had obtained, the prince and his men swept all before them; and scarcely had they got clear of their ship when she filled and went down, leaving them masters of her colossal adversary.

The result of this unequal contest was shewn in the capture, by the English, of twenty-four¹ of that immense armament by which the nation had been insulted; and there is no doubt scarce one of the remnant that escaped would have been allowed to return to their own ports, had they not, during the darkness of the night, made such use of their sails, they were nearly out of sight of their opponents by daylight. Believing pursuit to be useless, the king, giving directions for the security of his prizes, returned triumphantly to land. The additional proofs of heroism exhibited by the prince in this engagement still more strongly endeared him to all ranks of his countrymen; but however satisfactory the important victory might be considered by himself, it was attended by a considerable drawback on his pleasure in the loss of a friend to whom he was much attached, called Sir John Goldesborough, "a young knight of great valour, and comely shape, and noble deportment, to whom he was always very dear upon the account of his extraordinary quali-

¹ STOW, p. 250, says seventeen; FABIAN, p. 228, says twenty-two; and SPEED, p. 581, HOLINSHED, *English Chron.* p. 946, the MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, c. 224, cited by BARNES, says twenty-four ("Naves xxiv. captas rept."); and WALSHINGHAM, twenty-six. "Captæ sunt ibi igitur 26 naves magnæ, reliquis submersis, vel in fugam versis."—*Hist. Angliæ*, p. 169.

ties, and almost equal age and conformity of will and inclination."¹ King Edward, after the battle, conferred the honour of knighthood on no less than eighty of the young nobility and gentry who had therein most distinguished themselves,² in which list were included several who had so bravely assisted the prince in his desperate conflict: nevertheless, it does not appear that, for some considerable time at least, either of them supplied the place of the friend he had lost. It may here not be superfluous to add that the Spaniards became, after this beating, wonderfully less eager to meddle with English ships, and gladly agreed to a truce with England for twenty years.

The prince had now arrived at the age of manhood, and historians represent him at this period as the *beau idéal* of the man, the gentleman, and the soldier—held up by the seniors to every aspiring youth as a model of perfect knighthood, and regarded by all classes of his young and lovely countrywomen as the realisation of that combination of personal and moral excellence which hitherto had existed only in the imaginations of the most romantic amongst them. That he excited in more than one quarter an enduring affection, there exists good evidence for inferring; and although his biographers have not thought it necessary to notice any of his gallantries, it does not follow, as some writers seem to imagine, that he was indifferent to the sex and a stranger to the tender passion, till, many years later, he met with the lady to whom he was united. This is decidedly in opposition to the spirit of the age, as well as to the established fact that he had at least two natural children. It is, however, evident enough that during much the greater portion of his life he had but little leisure to bestow on such intimacies, however easily to him they might have been formed. In the year or two that followed the

¹ BARNES, p. 452; STOW, p. 250, calls him Sir Richard Goldesborough.

² Shortly afterwards, as a memorial of one of his numerous splendid victories, Edward the Third issued a gold coin representing him standing in the middle of a ship-of-war, with his drawn sword in his hand, which is believed to be the first gold coin struck in his reign.

great sea-fight off Winchelsea, the prince possessed more time and opportunity for indulging a passion of this kind than he could have enjoyed at any subsequent period; and as he is known to have been much at Claringdon, near Salisbury, at this interval, it is very probable that there commenced his affection for the mother of Sir Roger de Claringdon, one of his natural sons. Although such a connexion must be condemned, all the knowledge of it that can be procured shews him to have acted liberally and honourably, as far as his situation would allow, both to the lady and her child.

His career had hitherto been as pleasant as it was brilliant, but he was now to be sent on a service from which little honour could be gained, and which, in other respects, must have been any thing but agreeable to him. A riot had broken out in Cheshire,¹ from what cause does not very clearly appear, but as many gentlemen and others who held situations under him as duke of Chester seem to have been roughly handled by the Cheshire men, and as this led to the severe measures immediately enforced by the king, I am inclined to believe that the disturbance was created by some attempt to introduce a new impost on the people, or to enforce more strictly than usual some of the least endurable of their ordinary burdens. As this was a time of great dearth,² after a season of extraordinary severity,³ the Cheshire men in all probability had little to part with, and less inclination to be deprived of it; and some of the collectors making themselves obnoxious to them by a tyrannical exercise of their power, they might have broken out into open violence. However this may have been, it is certain that the king determined to bring the rioters to a severe account, and "resolving to make them submit to law or to the sword, sends forth Sir Richard Willoughby and Sir William Shareshall, his justices itinerant, to sit in Eyre, at Chester. At the same time, ordering sufficient forces under the

¹ KNIGHTON, 2606; DUGDALE, vol. i. p. 161.

² KNIGHTON, 2607.

³ WALSINGHAM, p. 161. *MS. Vet. Ang. in Bib. C. C. C. Cantab. c. 224*, cited by BARNES.

leading of his son the prince, attended with Henry, duke of Lancaster, and the earls of Warwick and Stafford, to go thither to prevent any violence or insurrection of the people. But when the Cheshire men knew in their consciences that they were in fault, and saw plainly there was as little contending in battle as in law against such force and such right, they compounded with the prince of Wales their lord for 5060 marks, to be paid within four years thence to come, and gave him such security as the prince himself desired, on condition that the justices should no longer continue their circuit of Eyre upon them.”¹

These conditions the king thought much too lenient, and with a harshness that savours strongly of injustice, the dignitaries of the law, of whom the people—doubtless from woeful experience—were in so much dread, notwithstanding the arrangement the prince had sanctioned, were sent to exercise their unwelcome duties, and they, according to the authority just quoted, levied vast sums of money and seized many lands and tenements into the hands of the prince, and raised fines without number. Edward of Woodstock does not seem to have been quite at ease with regard to his acquisitions in this adventure, for on his return from the scene of disturbance, passing through the abbey of Vale Royal,² the building of which his great-grandfather had commenced, as if to satisfy whatever scruples of conscience he may have had, he gave 500 marks—a tenth of what he had obtained—towards the completion of the structure.

Occasions for his services were, however, at hand that promised far more favourably, for after many fruitless attempts at negotiation with the king of France, and much endurance on the part of the king of England of acts of hostility from his subjects, neither the English monarch nor his people were disposed to be trifled with any longer, and extensive preparations were made, in both countries, for war. This determination appeared particularly acceptable to the

¹ BARNES, p. 468.

² Sir Richard Baker.

warlike people of England, who had had just sufficient taste of the nature of a campaign in an enemy's country to make them enter upon it with an appetite that would require a full meal to satisfy. Their king was not likely to disappoint their desires, and he made every arrangement experience and skill could suggest that these should be fulfilled in a manner as satisfactory to him as to themselves. In this the most prominent was the command which he bestowed on the prince of Wales, whose fitness for it he had been labouring assiduously for the last four or five years to render indisputable. Fully impressed with the extraordinary talents of his son no less than with his singular courage, he used every possible exertion to secure him those advantages which would enable him to develope such qualities with the most desirable results. On no other plan for an invasion of the territories of his enemy, did he employ such elaborate calculations, and make such comprehensive arrangements for its success, as in the present. The force under his son's command was to consist of a powerful body of men-at-arms and archers, the best and bravest the country afforded, and the most celebrated amongst his warlike nobles were selected to accompany him. Of these the most distinguished were Chandos, Audley, Stafford, Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford and Cobham. The immediate object of the expedition was Gascony.

We learn from a trustworthy authority,¹ that "King Edward constituted his son the prince his lieutenant in the dukedom of Aquitaine, and other places in France, whither he should happen to march, as well for the reformation of the state of that dukedom, and other places in France, as for the recovery of his lands and rights possessed by the rebels. And by another commission of the same date, he gave him power to make alliances with all persons, of what nation, dignity, or condition soever, to retain men and pay them wages and rewards. A third commission gave him power (in the king's stead and name) to receive homage and

¹ BARNES, p. 480.

fidelity from the nobility and others within the said dukedom and realm of France."

From the same source we derive the information that the king appointed Richard de Cartenhall and Robert Bauldron sergeants-at-arms to arrest, array, and equip all the ships and vessels of twenty tons burthen and upwards, in all ports and places from the Thames to Lynn, as well within the liberties as without, to furnish them with men and other necessities, and to bring them to Southampton by St. Barnabas's day at the furthest, as also to press marines for the voyage at the king's wages; and further he had given commission to John Beauchamp, admiral of the sea, westward; and to Thomas Hogshaw, lieutenant, to carry the prince over; with power to hear and determine all crimes and trespasses committed on board, and to punish delinquents according to maritime law, and to do all other things appertaining to their places.

These preparations put all England in a ferment as soon as they commenced, but when it became known that the expedition was to be under the command of the prince of Wales, the excitement became intense. Fortune and Fame appeared to hold out their arms to the warlike of all classes, the former particularly offering the strongest inducements, and however desirous they might have been to obtain the gifts of the latter, there is every reason to believe that the thirst for gold had, in those days, a very powerful influence. The richest knight and the humblest man-at-arms seldom failed to look to the chances of war as a source of revenue; the ransom of prisoners often proved a means of increasing their incomes to an exceedingly satisfactory extent: in some instances large fortunes were made by this resource. Nor were the majority indifferent to the allurements of plunder. Many a sharp fellow, when marching through an enemy's country, might find occasions for lining his pockets. But good fortune to the followers depended very much on the good fortune of the leader, therefore whenever a commander, celebrated for his successes, was known to be about taking the field, he was sure of soon having

crowds of volunteers flocking to his banners. The name of the prince of Wales seemed, in the estimation of his countrymen, to be the first in Europe, and the sensation produced by the intelligence rapidly spreading from one extremity of the land to the other, that he was on the point of leaving England with an army intended to invade France, was so great, that the armourers—impressed with the excellence of such an opportunity for making a speedy fortune—raised the price of every kind of weapons and armour, and concealing the greater part of their stock, demanded the most exorbitant prices for what they brought forward,¹ on the pretence of the extraordinary scarcity and difficulty of procuring such things. This was found to be an intolerable abuse, and measures, scarcely less excusable, were rigidly enforced by the orders of the king, to put an end to it. He appointed commissioners to accompany the mayor and other city officers in a general search throughout London, to discover what armour might be obtained, on every article of which a price was put, allowing a certain sum for the metal, and another for the workmanship, and at this valuation the possessor was forced to sell to the first purchaser that could be met with.

¹ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 109.

CHAPTER III.

Edward of Woodstock at the head of an Invading Army—Lands at Bordeaux—His Reception—Assistance rendered him—His great Success—He obtains the Title of the Black Prince—Continues his Triumphant Career—His Difficulties—Drunken Horses—He returns to Bordeaux—His Military Operations—Leads a New Expedition into Auvergne and Berry—Warlike Preparations of the King of France—An Ambuscade—The Black Prince takes Ramorantin—Cannons and Greek Fire—A Skirmish—Approach of the French Army—Its immense Superiority to the English—Preparations for Battle—Address of the Prince to his Troops—Heroic Conduct of the Lord James Audley—The Battle of Poitiers—The Prince greatly distinguishes himself—Sir John Chandos—The Cardinal's Retinue—Valour of the King of France—Dispersion of the Scottish Mercenaries in the French Army—Complete Success of the Black Prince—The King of France, with his Son, taken Prisoner—Courteous Conduct of his Captor towards him—Result of the Battle—Munificence of the Prince, and Generosity of Lord Audley—Burying the Dead—Neighbourhood of Poitiers.

THE extensive preparations alluded to at the close of the last chapter were ultimately concluded, and Edward of Woodstock, with a crowd of distinguished knights, and a most gallant army of valiant and hardy soldiers, set sail from the southern coast of England¹ near the middle of August 1355; and, after a prosperous voyage, landed at the port of Bordeaux. It must have been to the young commander a source of the highest pride and gratification to find himself possessed of such ample means for carrying on warlike operations, with such a fine field before him for their display; his authority as captain general and representative in Gascony for the king his father, acknowledged by the lords of the country, and the warlike spirits who had so eagerly rushed to his banner, bent as with one mind to place themselves at his disposal. The ambitious desires of his youth seemed now about to be fully realised—he had not only taken a place amongst the heroes whose fame he had coveted, but was their

¹ Stow says the prince "took shipping in the beginning of October, at Sutton Haven in Devonshire," p. 256. The same date is given in BARNES, p. 480; and in FROISSART, chap. cliv.

acknowledged leader in one of the noblest expeditions his age had witnessed. The situation, however, in which he was placed was satisfactory rather for the prospect of distinction it held out than for the advantages it conferred; and, therefore, on his landing the prince lost no time in making arrangements for immediate hostilities against the enemy.

He was honourably received by the clergy,¹ the Gascon knights readily joined his standard, and the common people came in crowds to satisfy their curiosity, and express their good wishes.² He invited the nobles to a council,³ and, having acquainted them with his powers, and the objects of the expedition, desired their advice as to the best means of securing them, which having obtained, together with every assistance they could render him, he marched out of Bordeaux on the 5th of October in military order. In the vanguard of his army, composed of 3000 men, were the earl of Warwick, his constable (Stow calls this nobleman "high constable"); the lord Reginald Cobham, his marshal; the lord Thomas Hampton, belonging to the ancients (banners); and several distinguished knights. "The main battle," consisting of a force of 7000 men, was led by the prince in person "with a double ancient," having with him many celebrated English and Gascon commanders; and the rear, containing 5000 men, was led by the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury, having with them the lord of Nemours, who, we learn from Stow, "led the Bernenses"—the carriages. In the whole army there existed of men-at-arms, clerks, pages, archers, and others, about 60,000 men.⁴ This statement shews a considerable increase since the prince left the English coast, and must have arisen from the eagerness of the foreign adventurers and vassals of the English crown to follow the fortunes of so famous a commander as the prince of Wales.

The extensive preparations that had been making

¹ BARNES, p. 480.

² Stow, p. 256.

³ HOLINSHED, p. 951, *et MS. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. c. 230*, cited by BARNES.

⁴ Stow, p. 260.

in England for the invasion of his dominions had not been regarded by the king of France with indifference. King John knew too well the energetic character of the young commander of the invading army, and his reputation for valour and military talent, not to be desirous of making every arrangement to withstand the expected attack. He levied all the military force at his command, hired large bodies of mercenaries, and imposed a new and heavy tax on his subjects called "the gabelle."¹ Several powerful divisions of his army were stationed at the principal ports in Normandy with the object of preventing the landing of the English;² but these kept such little discipline that they ravaged the country they were engaged to defend, till there was not sufficient subsistence in it left for them: and when the prince made his descent they were not in a situation to offer him any opposition. In the territories possessed by the English, one of these armies, in itself numerically superior to the force of the prince of Wales, led by the count d'Armagnac, who had been appointed lieutenant-general in Languedoc for the French king, had committed great havoc;³ but neither the count nor any other of the French commanders were to be found when the English made their appearance. The prince at once advanced into the province of Armagnac in search of its lord, and retaliated on the country in his line of march for the mischiefs he had perpetrated. One of the knights in the invading army, in a letter to a nobleman in England, has left on record a brief but vivid description of the principal incidents that marked the progress of his countrymen.⁴ It does not convey any thing like a sufficient idea of the military genius of the hero by whom the campaign was directed, that led him in a course of uninterrupted triumphs through a hostile country, from the shores of the bay of Biscay nearly to

¹ FROISSART, chap. cliv.

² BARNES, p. 480.

³ JAMES, vol. ii. p. 116.

⁴ SIR JOHN WINOFIELD. See HOLINSHED, *Engt. Chron.* p. 952. ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, *Hist. Rerum Edwardi III. Regis*, cap. 100; and BARNES, p. 481.

the Mediterranean;¹ but the resources of his comprehensive mind did not tell more effectually upon those of the king of France than they strengthened and consolidated his influence over the instruments with which he was warring against him. He appears to have neglected no occasion of rewarding the meritorious with those honours that were considered the best stimulus to exertion. Whoever distinguished himself was certain of receiving knighthood from his hands, or of obtaining some mark of his prince's appreciation. Of this the humblest were as sure as the highest; for among others whose valour raised them to distinction was Theodoric Dale, who held no higher office than that of porter to the prince's chamber.² His policy through every stage of his progress was that of an able general, and not the least admirable part of it was his conduct to the papal legates, which appears to have so well pleased Sir John Wingfield when relating it to his correspondent.³ Had he listened to overtures for a truce at that period, the conclusion which would have been drawn from it must have been exceedingly prejudicial to him, and the time passed in making such arrangements would have been taken advantage of by the generals of the French king in surrounding him with their immensely superior forces; he having advanced so far that a retreat would be attended with such difficulties as to be in their opinion impossible.

Some charges have been hastily brought against Edward of Woodstock for the ravages he committed in this campaign; but so far from exhibiting unusual or uncalled-for severity, he often interfered to check the fierceness of his followers:—

"On Monday," we are informed, "the middle ward lodged at the good town called Dealpuhbon, which long time was defended, but at length gotten by force. The castle whereof yeilded, unto the which town and castle the prince commanded that no harm should be done by fire."⁴ In another instance, "They passed along, leaving the town of Beal Marchi on the right hand, and lodged before the town of the archbishop of Aufre,

¹ JAMES, vol. ii. p. 119.

Stow, p. 258.

³ The pontiff had sent persons to the prince to negotiate a peace, and Edward referred them to his father.

⁴ Stow, p. 258.

called le Base. On this day Richard Stafford, brother unto the earl of Stafford, led his men with his ancient towards the town; and on the next day, being Tuesday, the town was yielded unto him: but because it belonged to the church, the prince would not suffer any man to enter into it, excepting certain persons appointed of purpose for the delivering of victuals. On Wednesday, leaving the fair town of Escamout on the left hand, they came before the noble town of Peraud, belonging to the earl of Camenge, which was full of armed soldiers, and the prince lodged in the great monastery of Bartons, in the which abbey there was not so much as one living creature found. On Thursday they lay still doing no harm to the said abbey. On Friday they went out of the fair and rich country of Arminake and entered the country of Austerike, through the which the passage was very hard and hilly, and lodged at Saraunt, a town they set on fire contrary to the commandement of the prince.”¹

It cannot be denied that such proofs of forbearance appear much more seldom than “the gentle reader” of the present day may desire; but as undoubtedly the prince was sent on this expedition to do as much mischief as he could to the king and people of France in the manner it was then the custom to make war in an enemy’s country, such signs of a spirit more humane than was characteristic of the time in which he flourished ought to be the more highly valued. That he followed out the intentions of the invasion he conducted in a way that made the name, he about this time acquired of *le Prince Noir*, a source of terror to all classes of Frenchmen,² however repulsive it may seem in an age more humanised, ought not to lessen his fame or our admiration. He was a warrior of a stern school—in its principles he was taught, and in their practical application exhibited only the results arising from a combination of the greatest military genius with the highest physical courage.

A second letter from Sir John Wingfield has been preserved, which appears to have been written about a month after the other, to one of the two knights who bore his former communication, Sir Richard Stafford, and who was now in England with his family. It affords some interesting information respecting the proceedings of the prince and his principal officers

¹ Stow, p. 256.

² He was called the Black Prince from the colour of the surcoat he was in the habit of wearing over his armour: not an unusual way of distinguishing the military leaders of the middle ages.

till the close of the year.¹ From this communication we find that the prince of Wales continued his successes with scarcely an attempt at interruption. After Narbonne, among other important places that fell to the conquerors, had been taken, the French commanders seemed desirous of making a stand, and put their armies into a defensive position; but directly they obtained information that the battle they appeared to invite was impending they retreated with all possible speed to safer quarters.² Town after town fell a sacrifice to the invader, and even the strongest castles shared the same fate. Sometimes a timely and liberal supply of money and other available gifts from the burghers saved their dwellings from the flames; but very few were allowed thus to purchase security, and over the fairest part of France plunder and devastation swept on their dreadful course unchecked. Nevertheless the prince occasionally met with difficulties that would have greatly embarrassed a less skillful commander, from the almost impassable state of some districts, and the deficiency of water and forage in others. It was when the army was suffering from a privation of this kind that a very singular circumstance occurred, which a chronicler thus describes:—“On Tuesday the army lodged on the field, and for lacke of water their horses were faine to drinke wine; whereupon it came to passe, that the next day their horses were so drunke they could not goe right forth, and many of them died.”³

Whatever was the difficulty, the danger, or priva-

¹ Stow relates the progress of the prince from day to day, but his account is very monotonous,—one day is like all the rest—some town is burnt or castle rased, or there is a skirmish, which ends in the discomfiture of the French. The second letter of Sir John Wingfield is given by BARNES, p. 483, from ROBERT DE AVESBURY.

² Stow, p. 258. Other writers have given different accounts, making the French, who had advanced from Toulouse, under the count of Armagnac, the prince of Orange, the constable James of Bourbon, and the maréchal de Clermont, in pursuit of the prince of Wales, wait till their outposts were attacked by a small force of the English, before they retreated; both agree that they were seized with a panic, and fled in confusion almost immediately they learned that the prince was hastening towards them.

³ Stow.

tion, endured by the troops, the spirit of their young commander always rose superior to every such evil, and his example had an excellent effect in enabling them to triumph over it. He returned to Bordeaux a little before Christmas, but he soon made it known that he did not intend remaining idle during the winter, for, dividing his forces into separate divisions, he carried on an active war against the enemy's places of strength within accessible distance, and so successfully were these expeditions conducted, that within a month he added to his conquests five fortified towns and seventeen castles.¹ He also occupied himself in fortifying Bordeaux, and the other castles and towns in Gascony of which he had retained possession, and coined a large sum of money, in gold and silver, for the use of his army.² Whilst thus engaged, there arrived messengers from the count de Perigord, upon whose territories one of the prince's officers, the Capital de Buch,³ was then advancing with a formidable force, to endeavour to save his lands from the threatened visitation by the offer of a large sum of money; but Perigord formed part of the duchy of Aquitaine, to which Edward the Third had an undoubted right, and the prince refused to enter into any such arrangement. "My father has enough of gold and silver," said he, "and therefore desires no more; and, for my own part, I have resolved never to sheathe the sword so long as one town in Aquitaine remains unconquered." The Capital de Buch continued his march, and in a short time became master of Perigueux. Other towns surrendered to the forces sent against them; and, in the course of the next two or three months, the impression of the uselessness of attempting any opposition to the prince became so general, that the lords of Aquitaine flocked to surrender their territories to him, and to acknowledge the authority of the king his father as their sovereign lord.⁴

Having settled these matters to his satisfaction, appointed the lord Bernard de Bret his lieutenant in

¹ JAMES, vol. ii. p. 122.

² ROBERTUS DE AVESBURY, p. 238.

³ STOW, p. 259.

⁴ JAMES, vol. ii. p. 132.

Gascony, with a sufficient power for its defence, and made every necessary preparation for another expedition into the heart of the king of France's dominions, on the 6th of July¹ the Black Prince marched out of Bordeaux with an army of 12,000 men,² of which only one fourth were English, and advanced into Auvergne, which they found remarkably fruitful. This fair country was speedily overrun, and the march of the invaders attended with the usual devastation,—in every town of which they took possession, they collected all the provisions and stores they could find, took with them what they could carry, and destroyed the rest, staving in the heads of the wine-casks, and burning the grain, to prevent the enemy making use of either.³ Then they entered Berry, and made their appearance before the strong city of Bourges; where, however, in consequence of the manner in which it was defended, they accomplished nothing except burning the suburbs. The country now was awaking from the lethargy into which it had hitherto seemed plunged, and the king of France was at last taking active measures to drive the English out of his dominions. On the prince of Wales leaving Bourges, he made a long march to the castle, Issondon, which he attacked with his customary impetuosity; but though he had with him his whole army, the castle was so strong, and was so gallantly defended, he could make no impression on it.⁴ Vierzon, a large town, with a castle for its defence, was the next place he attempted, and he met with better success, for it was with little difficulty taken by storm. Here they found a plentiful supply of wines and provisions, and stayed three days refreshing themselves after their fatigues; but whilst enjoying their well-earned leisure they were thrown into commotion, by receiving certain intelligence that the king of France, with an immense army, was in the city of Chartres, and that all the passes and towns on that

¹ WALSINGHAM, p. 163, *et MS. Vet. Angl. in C. C. C.*, c. 230.

² Such is MEZERAY's account; but other historians diminish the number to 2000 men-at-arms and 6000 archers.

³ FROISSART, chap. clvi.

⁴ *IBID.*

side the Loire were so well defended there was no possibility of crossing that river. The prince held a council of war, when an immediate retreat to Bordeaux, by the way of Touraine, into Poictou, and through Sainctonge, was resolved on; and this was presently commenced, slowly and in good order, till they approached Ramorantin, a considerable town on the Sandre, in Blaisois, and the capital of Sologne.

The king of France had sent into Berry, with the command of 300 lances, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and another personage of an equally gallant reputation, known as the hermit of Chaumont, to defend that province, and to watch the movements of the invaders. They kept them in sight for six days, seeking some opportunity of cutting off detachments or entrapping them into ambuscades.¹ The admirable order in which the army pursued their march prevented their being taken at such disadvantage; but a party of 200 men, who had obtained the prince's consent to push forward, were no sooner at a safe distance from the main body than a trap was set for them. They were obliged to pass a narrow spot, which they were allowed to do unmolested, but, as soon as they had got clear of it, the concealed ambuscade started after them. As amongst the English there were knights of such approved courage as the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, the lord of Muyssidan, a Gascon, the lords Petiton Courton, Delawar, Basset, and the young lord de Spencer, with Sir Walter Pavely, Sir Richard Pontchardan, Sir Nele Loring, and Sir Eustace and Sir Sanchez d'Ambreticourt, it is not so surprising, that seeing the Frenchmen rushing on them with levelled spears, they prepared to meet them with a total disregard of their superiority in numbers. Opening their ranks as their opponents reached them, so that their charge produced very little effect, they closed again as they passed and fell upon their rear. A very gallant conflict ensued, both parties greatly distinguishing themselves; but the French,

¹ Stow's account might here, with advantage, be compared with FROISSART, see page 259 of his *chronicle*.

catching a glimpse of the main body of the English army advancing along the skirts of a wood, put spurs to their horses and fled at full speed towards Ramorantin. Only about one half of them succeeded in reaching the castle, they were so hotly pursued and so many of their party overthrown.

The lord Burghersh and his associates took possession of the town, and were devising how they should obtain the castle, when the prince arrived and took the matter into his own hands. He first sent Sir John Chandos to hold a parley with the garrison, and in his name to promise them mercy if they would surrender.¹ They listened to his message, but expressed their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity. The prince then ordered his men to quarters, wishing to allow them a night's rest from their fatiguing march before they began the attack. In the morning, the necessary preparations were made for an assault. The men-at-arms and the archers advanced to the castle under their respective banners; the latter posting themselves in the ditches, and thence discharged their arrows with so true an aim, that few ventured to remain upon the battlements; whilst the former, by the assistance of hurdles and doors, crossed the ditch, and with pickaxes and mattocks began to undermine the walls, notwithstanding the furious shower of heavy stones and pots of quicklime rained upon them. The defence was as obstinate as the assault was fierce, and continued during the day with little intermission, with much mischief and but slight advantage on either side. In the evening the English retreated to their quarters to take care of the wounded and refresh the weary; but at sunrise next morning the marshal's trumpet sounded, and the attacking force, with the prince at their head, whose presence appears to have greatly encouraged their efforts, again advanced to the assault. The defence continued to be no less vigorous than on the preceding day, and a squire of the name of Bertrand

¹ FROISSART.

having been killed by the garrison close to the prince, with one of their heavy missiles, he swore very earnestly he would not move from the place till the castle was won, and ordered up reinforcements. The ordinary weapons of war not being considered sufficient for the object in view, cannons were brought into requisition and commenced discharging certain deadly missiles called "*Agueraux*," and that exceedingly mischievous composition, known as Greek fire,¹ which they did with such effect, that in a short time the lower court of the castle was in a blaze. The fire increased so rapidly, that it threatened to destroy a large tower covered with thatch, in which were the principal officers, who, seeing their danger, lost but little time in surrendering. The castle was presently destroyed, and all within its walls were made prisoners.² These consisted of the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the Hermit of Chaumont, with the commander of the garrison, and 240 men-at-arms, who were marched away. The knights were courteously treated by their conqueror, and the common soldiers allowed their liberty.³ The prince appears in this expedition to have been pretty fortunate in making prisoners,⁴ he having obtained at least 6000 men-at-arms, all of whom he sent to Bordeaux to be ransomed.

The king of France was not idle whilst these proceedings were going on. He had collected his forces at Chartres, till his numerical strength outnumbered the force of his young opponent to a prodigious extent. He had with him his four sons, twenty-five dukes and earls, and six score bannerets, Charles duke of Normandy, the lord Louis, afterwards duke of Anjou, John, afterwards duke of Berry, and Philip,

¹ Froissart says, "Et ordonnèrent à porter canons en avant et à traire en agueraux et à feu Gregeois." The Greek fire was a compound of sulphur, naphtha, pitch, gum, and bitumen, and, wherever it fell, blazed with an extraordinary fierceness that could only be extinguished by raw hides or vinegar mixed with sand or urine.

² Stow, p. 259.

³ Knighton, 2614.

⁴ Barnes, p. 498.

⁵ MSS. vet. Ang. Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. c. 230.

afterwards duke of Burgundy, with at least 20,000 men-at-arms and a fair proportion of infantry; and satisfied that with such an armament he could speedily annihilate the handful of adventurers who had had the audacity to invade his dominions, he lost no time in endeavouring to intercept them before they could get back to Guienne. His army crossed the Loire by the bridges of Orleans, Mehun, Saumur, Blois, and Tours, advanced to La Haye in Touraine, where they crossed the Creuse, and thence to Chauvigny in Poitou, where they passed the Vienne. Notwithstanding numerous scouts had been sent out to watch the movements of the prince of Wales, the king of France and all his host appear to have been ignorant that they had got in advance of him, and the Black Prince was scarcely more enlightened as to the position of his enemies, though he was aware they were in great force in hot pursuit, and had reason to believe, from the scarcity of forage in the country through which he was now passing, that they could not be far off. The two armies, however, got information of each other's vicinity by a singular accident.

In consequence of the vast crowds pressing around the French king when he passed in person the bridge of Chauvigny, the lord of Auxerre, the lord Raoul de Joigny, and the earl of Joigny, were forced, with about 200 lancers, to remain in the town till the next morning, when, in following the French army, they made for the open fields and the heaths, which were surrounded by woods, to make their way most expeditiously to Poitiers. It happened that the same day the prince of Wales had marched from a neighbouring village, sending before him a detachment of about sixty men, headed by Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, to look out for the enemy; and as they made their appearance on the heath, they were observed by the French then passing it, who, fixing their lances in their rests, started after them as speedily as they could. The English saw them coming, but, knowing their main body was so close at hand, were not at all unwilling to be pursued. Apparently in great

alarm, they wheeled round suddenly, and struck into a road leading through the wood, along which their pursuers followed with such haste that they were in the midst of the prince of Wales's army before they discovered their danger. A sharp conflict ensued, for the French knights gallantly would not surrender till several of their party had been slain; but it was soon terminated, very few escaping to tell the fate of their companions.

Through his prisoners the prince now learned that the king of France was in advance of his position, and could not return without fighting him. On hearing this intelligence he ordered all stragglers to join the army, and no one to venture before the battalion of the marshals on pain of death. Cautiously, and with strict order, he continued his march till he arrived within a short distance of Poitiers; thence he sent forward a detachment of 200 lances well mounted, and headed by the Captal de Buch, Sir Haymenon de Pomiers, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, to observe the French army. They soon came upon their rear, and, with characteristic rashness, could not resist charging, which they did with such effect, that the king of France, who was on the point of entering Poitiers, turned back, and with all his host made for the open fields, where the Frenchmen quartered themselves for the night. The prince heard from the knights who led the detachment the warlike appearance and immense strength of the enemy to whom he was about to be opposed, and all he said in reply was, "God help us! we must now consider the manner of fighting them most advantageously;" and proceeded to quarter his army in a very strong position among vineyards and hedges,¹ about a mile from the French camp.²

This happened on the Saturday, and on the fol-

¹ RAPIN, vol. iv. p. 285.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 171; KNIGHTON, 2612. In this position the king of France might easily have starved the English into terms; but he fancied he had now an opportunity of completely crushing them, and was impatient to give them battle.—HENRY, vol. vii. p. 253.

lowing morning, after a solemn mass had been sung in the pavilion of the king of France, and he and his four sons had received the communion, the principal nobles were invited to a council. A long debate ensued, but at last it was determined that the whole army should advance into the plain, each lord displaying his banner, and that they should push forward in the name of God and St. Denis. This immense force was then put in motion, and must have afforded a most brilliant spectacle, for nearly all the nobility of France were to be found there arrayed in the most brilliant armour, with a magnificent display of banners and pennons. By the advice of the more experienced of the French commanders, the army was divided into three battalions, each consisting of about 6000¹ men-at-arms—the duke of Orleans commanding the first, the duke of Normandy, assisted by his brother the lord Louis, and the lord John, commanded the second, and the king of France commanded the third.²

Whilst these arrangements were being made, king John sent forward several of his nobles who were experienced in war to make a reconnaissance of the English, and, mounted on a white charger, harangued a portion of his troops, reminding them of certain boasts they had made, and acquainting them that now was the time to make their actions correspond with their speech. In reply, they professed their readiness to meet their enemies. Scarcely had this been expressed, when Sir Eustace de Ribaultmont with the

¹ Froissart and Du Chesne, followed by Mr. James, say 16,000; but this has been generally regarded as an error. Barnes adds the following note to his text:—"Frois. et Du Chesne legunt seize, *i. e.* 16,000: sed ut puto figuris decepto Codicum Exscriptores; cum aliis, id Frois. dicunt totum armorum numerum ultra 20,000 non accendisse: Aliter ad 48,000 armorum millia, præter pedites numerentur; quod absurdum."—P. 500. Froissart says, elsewhere, that the French numbered rather more than 60,000 combatants; but if there were 16,000 men-at-arms in each battalion, adding the usual number of attendants upon each man, whose business in the field was equally warlike with that of his superior, there must have been a total of fighting men approaching 150,000.

² Barnes says, "This third battail consisted of 40,000 fighting men, whereof 8000 were men-of-arms; all the whole host was extraordinary well equipped and every way well provided."

reconnoitring party returned, and reported to the king that he had carefully observed the English army, which consisted of about 2000 men-at-arms, 4000 archers, and 1500 footmen, placed in a strong position, every part being put in the best state of defence, and the only road for an attack being through a lane so narrow that not more than four men could ride abreast in it, at the end of which, amidst vines and thorns, the men-at-arms were posted on foot, with their archers before them, in the form of a harrow.

The king, having asked how they should be attacked, was answered, on foot, with a select force of 300 men well mounted, whose sole object should be to charge and endeavour to break the archers.¹ This advice the king expressed his determination to follow; but, whilst preparations were being made for immediately carrying it into effect, they received an interruption by the appearance of cardinal Perigord, who came full gallop up to the king and urgently entreated him to halt a moment, that he might speak to him. His object was soon unfolded. He was desirous of bringing about a mediation between the contending armies, and, after prevailing with the king, was allowed to employ his best exertions for so desirable an end. On making his mission known to the prince of Wales, the latter stated that, his own honour and that of his army saved, he was ready to listen to any reasonable terms; he even offered to give up all his conquests, and bind himself by an oath, not to bear arms against France for seven years, if allowed to return unmolested with his forces to Bordeaux; but king John, with a vain confidence in his superiority of numbers, would listen to nothing but unconditional surrender, under circumstances no man in the English army would have entertained for a moment.²

¹ I have taken Froissart for my chief authority in these details; but Stow, whose account appears to have been derived from an eye-witness, differs from him in several important particulars, and attributes the advice given in the text to William Douglas, a Scottish knight, who, with a small force composed exclusively of his countrymen, was among the mercenaries employed in this campaign by the French king.

² The French king, supposing he had his enemy now at his mercy,

"Fair son," said the cardinal, after striving without success throughout the Sunday to bring the French king to reason, "exert yourself as much as possible; for there must be a battle. I cannot by any means pacify the king of France." The prince replied that such were the intentions of himself and his army, and added with a fervent emphasis, "God defend the right!" With as fervent an amen, the good priest took his leave and returned sadly to Poitiers, and both parties prepared to stand the hazard of an engagement.¹ Since the French knights had made their report to their sovereign of the prince of Wales's position, he had caused a slight alteration to be made in it, which consisted in retaining a body of picked knights, well mounted, similar to the battalion of the French marshals in the enemy's legions, and had commanded 300 men-at-arms and as many mounted archers, led by the Captal de Buch, to take a position on a neighbouring hill, whence, by passing over its summit, they could readily act upon the wing of the duke of Normandy's battalion. Having seen all the weak parts of his position properly strengthened, the prince placed himself in the midst of the vineyards with the main body, who had their horses at hand in case they might be required,² and made an address to the brave men around, which was not likely to be lost upon them. In the words of lord Berners, he is represented to have said, "Now, sirs, though we be but a small company as in regard to the puissance of our enemies, let us not be abashed therefore, for the victory lyeth not in the multitude of the people, but where as God will send it; if it fortune that the journey be ours, we shall be the most honoured people of all the world; and if we die in our right quarrel, I have the king my father and brethren, and also ye have good friends and kinsmen, these shall revenge us.

would accept of no other condition but that the prince should deliver him four hostages, and, as vanquished, render up himself and his army.—*Harleian Miscellany*.

¹ WALSINGHAM, p. 172.

² For a list of the distinguished nobles and knights in the English army, see FROISSART, chap. clx.

Therefore, sirs, for God's sake, I require you to do your *devoirs* this day, for if God be pleased and Saint George, this day ye shall see me a good knight."¹

If it were possible to have increased the courage of his men, the enthusiasm excited throughout their ranks by this address could not fail of doing so. Sir John Chandos, who at the battle of Cressy had proved himself so wise a counsellor and brave a companion, again came and placed himself by the side of his prince, to guard and advise him. The lord James Audley, a hero of the same stamp, approached him, and urgently made the following request, "Sir," said he, "I have ever served most loyally my lord your father and yourself, and shall continue to do so as long as I have life. Dear sir, I must now acquaint you, that formerly I made a vow, if ever I should be engaged in any battle where the king, your father, or any of his sons were, that I would be the foremost in the attack, and the next combatant on his side, or die in the attempt. I beg, therefore, most earnestly, as a reward for any service I may have done, that you would grant me permission honourably to quit you, that I may post myself in such wise to accomplish my vow." In giving his ready consent, the prince held out his hand to his gallant companion, and said, "Sir James, God grant that this day you may shine in valour above all other knights!" Lord Audley lost no time in posting himself in the front of his battalion, where, with only four trusty squires for his defence, whose names were, Dutton of Dutton, Delves of Doddington, Fowlehurst of Crew, and Hawkestone of Wainchill,² he awaited an opportunity of doing his *devoirs* against the approaching enemy.

On came the French host in most gallant array; the principal noblemen in splendid armour, and the king with, for his better security, nineteen knights of

¹ Stow, p. 260, gives the prince a speech of a different character, much too scholastic to satisfy the historical student of its genuineness. Barnes states that this speech was addressed to his principal captains about half an hour before the battle.—P. 504.

² ASHMOLE.

approved courage, in suits of royal armour exactly resembling his own.¹ The marshals approached with their division, accompanied by the 300 chosen horse, who were to break the ranks of the English bowmen. But, as the field on which stood the army of the prince of Wales was divided from the plain, from which the French were marching, by a long row of hedges and a ditch, running along the lane through which they must approach, strongly guarded on both sides by the archers, as soon as the battalion had advanced sufficiently into this narrow passage they were assaulted with so fierce a shower of arrows, after the old fashion, that the horses, smarting from their wounds, became unruly, threw their riders, and started back, creating the greatest confusion and terror among the foot.² A few of the horsemen managed to break through the hedge, but they met with so fierce a reception they were soon forced to fall back, and in a short time the whole division gave way, completely disorganised. The lane became choked with their dead and wounded, the arrows of the English bowmen at every discharge bringing them down by scores, and the men-at-arms, charging through the open ranks of their archers, fell upon the terror-struck Frenchmen with an impetuosity that sent them to carry fear and disorder into the advancing battalion of the duke of Normandy. Lord Audley and his four esquires were among the first by whom they had been attacked; this little band charged into their thickest ranks, and their leader, the *maréchal d'Audeham*, after a sharp hand-to-hand combat with lord James, was hurled to the ground sorely wounded. Audley stopped not to take prisoners, but continued his furious career, gallantly assisted by his faithful attendants, overthrowing all who opposed him.

At this period, when confusion had already become evident in that part of the French army which had

¹ Shakspeare must have been aware of the custom of kings in the field being accompanied by their facsimiles, as he mentions it in *Richard the Third* and the first part of *Henry the Fourth*.

² Stow's account of this part of the battle is much more minute than that of FROISSART, and affords a very lively picture of the stirring scene.

been engaged, it was greatly increased by the force under the Captal de Buch coming down the hill and falling upon one of the wings of the Dauphin's division, which, taken quite unexpectedly, shortly exhibited symptoms of unsteadiness. Both the English archers and men-at-arms did great execution among their crowded ranks, and the success of their charge was so signal, that the gallant band around the prince of Wales mounted their horses with one heart-stirring cry of "St. George for Guienne!" Chandos, participating in their desire to follow up the advantage already gained, said, urgently, to the prince, "Sir, sir, now push forward, for the day is ours. God will this day put it into your hand. Let us make for our adversary, the king of France; for where he is will be the main stress of the business: I well know that his valour will not let him fly, and he will remain with us if it please God and St. George: but he must be well fought with; and you have before said that you would shew yourself this day a good knight."

The prince, who was as eager to attack the enemy as his followers, quickly replied, "John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost." Then, turning to Sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, in the same spirit, cried, with a loud voice, "Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George!" and immediately the whole body impatiently hurried on, with their heroic leader at their head. As he was advancing, he recognised the lord Robert Duras, one of cardinal de Perigord's kinsmen, with his banner beside him, and about a dozen of his attendants, lying dead on the field near a small bush; and hearing that nearly every one in the cardinal's suite had borne arms on the side of the French, under the command of the castellan of Amposta, who was also in that priest's service, he was exceedingly wroth, that one who had so openly entertained sentiments of peace, and by his profession ought to have observed a strict neutrality, should have sent his followers in arms against him. He gave directions that the body of lord Robert Duras should be borne on a

shield to his kinsman the cardinal, with the message from him,—“ I salute him by that token ;” and, hearing that the castellan had been taken prisoner, ordered his head to be struck off; but Sir John Chandos advising him not to think of such things at such a moment, and intimating that possibly the cardinal might not be to blame, he passed on, and presently was too hotly engaged with his enemies to allow him to think of the priest's apparent deceit.

He first encountered a strong force under the command of the constable de Brienne, duke of Athens, and the conflict immediately raged with great fury. To the piercing war-cries of the French, “ Montjoye St. Denis!” the English answered with equal vigour, “ St. George for Guienne!” but the blows of the combatants were much more serious matter than their shouts, and these soon so engrossed the attention of both parties, that, except when a victorious knight recommenced an attack, the latter were seldom heard. The battalion of the marshals, the German cavalry, and the force under the constable, were now contesting the field with the separate bodies of the English army led by the Black Prince and the Captal de Buch, and terrible, indeed, did they find their opponents. The clouds of English arrows pierced their best armour, and the battle-axes crushed in their helmets and overthrew their strongest men. Neither shield nor breastplate was found to be any defence against the resistless rush of the spear; and the heavy sword cut through every kind of defence, as though it were as brittle as reeds. There seemed to them something of supernatural strength in the vigorous arms of the prince of Wales¹ and his companions, which it was useless to resist. It is impossible to notice properly the gallantry of every one of the brave companions of the prince who most distinguished himself. To those already named must be added the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, who, according to Stow's quaint yet

¹ “ The prince, lustily encountering with his enemies, goeth into the middle of the throng, and where he seeth most company there he layeth about him on every side.”—Stow, p. 262.

rather coarse metaphor, like fierce lions, endeavoured which of them should dung the land of Poitiers most with Frenchmen's blood.

"Neither," he adds, "was the wise counsellor, Defford of Suffolk, idle at the season, who right worthily in all his acts behaved himself, being expert and skilful in activity. For he, continually running from ward to ward, and into all troops and companies, comforted and stirred them up with good words to do well, having a great regard that the youthful sort of lusty soldiers, being too bold upon their good hearts and courage, should not without regard go out too far, and placed the archers at sundry times to great advantages; and oftentimes, as leisure would suffer him, he would encourage up the minds of the soldiers."

The detachments of the French army with which they had been engaged became sensibly thinned, their disorder more and more apparent, and, a few having taken flight, the whole division under the duke of Orleans, the king of France's brother, which had not yet been engaged, were seized with a sudden panic, and scampered off the field. They were shortly afterwards followed by the lords of Landas, Vaudenay, and St. Venant, with the king's children and 800 lances. The German horse were overpowered, and the leaders taken prisoners; and their retreat gave liberty to Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, into whose power he had fallen at the first charge, from venturing too far unsupported. He was found tied to a chair by his captors, but was speedily released, and was in a few minutes dealing destruction wherever he could meet an enemy. His gallant companion, the lord James Audley, though dreadfully wounded, and weak from loss of blood, maintained the fight, till his faithful squires, who had defended and assisted him throughout this hard-fought day, led him to a hedge to examine and dress his wounds.¹

The king of France with the division under his command, which was more than twice the strength of the whole army of the prince of Wales, still maintained an unbroken front, and beholding the approach of the

¹ MAY, a versifier of no great talent, though he does occasionally venture out of his Sternhold and Hopkins vein into something more resembling poetry, has, in his *Victorious Reigne of King Edward the Third*, introduced a poetical account of this battle, wherein the English heroes are mentioned in rare holyday terms.

opposing force, flushed with success, he exclaimed "On foot! on foot!" making his men at arms dismount, and with shortened lances receive the charge of the English; whilst he, with a battle-axe of steel, took his place amongst them under the banner of the oriflamme, with a resolution to recover the day, if not wholly lost. If his own high courage could have done so, the battle of Poitiers would not have been the source of pride to Englishmen it is; but great as were his personal exertions in the conflict, they could produce little effect against so many champions who were employing their valour and soldiership against him; and his example was followed by too few to promise him any lasting advantage. Many of his nobles, who, with their followers, were waging a hopeless warfare in different parts of the field, attempted without success to join him; and others who had previously placed themselves near his person, maintained their devotion to his cause till they were struck down, among the heaps of illustrious dead who perished at this period of the battle. A vast number sought safety in flight. The Scottish mercenaries were cut to pieces, except those who surrendered, and a few, of whom their chief the lord Douglas¹ was one, as soon as they could, made haste to escape from the field. Still around the oriflamme the battle continued with unexampled fury; and Stow, in describing the terrible scene, becomes singularly poetical.

¹ Lord Hailes, and after him Mr. James, says, that he was forced from the field by his companions; but Froissart declares that, when the discomfiture was complete on the side of the French, he saved himself as fast as he could, dreading to be taken by the English; and Stow states (p. 261) he fled, after being wounded, with the remnant of his followers. Lord James Douglas, the companion of Bruce, would have behaved very differently. Among the prisoners to the conquerors was a natural son of his, Archibald Douglas, of whom Lord Hailes (*Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 240) states, on the authority of Fordun, that a certain Sir William Ramsay, of Colluthy, passed him off as a valet who had taken possession of his master's armour, by which means he secured his liberty at a very trifling ransom.

There can be no necessity for attempting to disprove this story, which bears its own contradiction. Archibald Douglas did not attempt to deceive his captors with so childish a trick. As Mr. James accurately states, he was retained a prisoner in England for some time after the victory of Poitiers, and his name and connexions were well known. — RYMER *Fœdera*, vol. iii. part 1. p. 144.

"In the mean time," he says, "on every side, his friends which served with captain de la Buch were at the back of the enemies, beating down and killing without pity, and the archers also placed for the purpose shot so thick, wounding the backs and sides of the Frenchmen, in such sort, that the form of the battle was quite spoiled, neither could they put themselves in order or array any more. This was the courage of the prince, who at the length thrusteth through the throngs of them that guarded the French king; then should you see an ancient begin to nod and stumble, the bearers to fall down, the blood of slaves and princes ran mingled together into the waters which were nigh. In like sort, the boar of Cornwall rageth, who seeketh to have none other way to the French king's standard, than by blood only; but when they came there, they meet with a company of stout men to withstand them. The Englishmen fight, the Frenchmen also lay on, but at length, God having so disposed, the prince presseth forward on his enemies, and, like a fierce lion beating down the proud, he came to the yielding up of the French king."

The rout of the French became general after the oriflamme was seen to fall, and the life of the king was in great jeopardy, as he continued to defend himself and his young son with his battle-axe amongst a crowd of enemies, eager to make their fortunes by taking him prisoner.

"Yield, sire, yield!" exclaimed a stout knight, pressing before the rest.

"To whom shall I surrender," replied the monarch: "where is my cousin the prince of Wales? If I could see him, I would speak to him."

"Sire," answered the other, "he is not here, but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him."

"Who are you?" demanded the king.

"Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque, a knight from Artois; but I serve the king of England, because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there."¹

The king then presented to him his right-hand glove, saying, "I surrender myself to you," and was led away with his son, amidst great clamour from the knight of Artois' disappointed companions, who were not at all willing to give up their claim to so tempting a prize.

The Black Prince was in another part of the field performing prodigies of valour. At last the fallen pen-

¹ He had been banished from France in consequence of some homicide he had committed in an affray at St. Omer.—FROISSART, chap. clxiii.

nons and the scattered enemy assured him that he had now no serious opposition to expect, and his friends were desirous he should rest from his extraordinary fatigues. Sir John Chandos, who had kept his honourable place throughout the fight, said to him, "Sir, it will be proper for you to halt here, and plant your banner on the top of this bush, which will serve to rally your forces, that seem very much scattered; for I do not see any banners or pennons of the French, nor any considerable bodies able to rally against us; and you must refresh yourself a little, as I perceive you are very much heated." The necessary orders followed, and presently the prince's banner was displayed in as elevated a situation as was possible, amidst the clangor of martial music. The prince took off his helmet, and, after a tent of crimson silk had been prepared for him, some refreshments were procured, of which he and his weary officers partook. Among the crowd of captains who made their way towards him were the two marshals of his army, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, of whom he eagerly inquired intelligence of the king of France; their reply was an assurance that he must have been killed or made prisoner. The prince commanded that instant search should be made, and the earl of Warwick and Reginald lord Cobham started forth on that errand. They soon fell in with the party, who were wrangling with Sir Denys de Morbeque and with each other, respecting the prisoner who had surrendered to the knight of Artois; and they found great difficulty in rescuing him from his turbulent captors. The two barons, then dismounting, advanced to the French king with profound reverence, and conducted him in a most respectful manner to the prince of Wales.

The reception the captive met with from his conqueror forms one of the most touching examples of greatness of mind to be met with in the annals of ancient or modern times. The sole object of the fortunate Edward appeared to be to make the king forget the humiliating situation in which he was placed. He took upon himself the character of one honoured beyond all parallel in having so distinguished a personage

with him as his guest, and conducted himself towards him with genuine reverence and sincere humility. In the evening he gave a grand banquet in his pavilion to the French king and a vast number of princes and barons who had also been taken prisoners,¹ seating the noblest of his guests at a raised table, and himself serving the viands, and declining, though very pressingly required by king John, to sit down and share in the feast he had so bountifully provided, by declaring he was not worthy of such an honour. During the meal and after it, he said and did every thing which could prove consolatory to his captives, but especially directed himself to heal the wounded spirit of the king of France. "In my opinion," he said, "you have cause to be glad that the success of this battle did not turn out as you desired: for you have this day acquired much high renown for prowess, that you have surpassed all the best knights on your side. I do not, dear sir, say this to flatter you, for all those on our side who have seen and observed the actions of each party have unanimously allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it."

It appeared as though the Black Prince was not satisfied in being considered irresistible in arms, he sought to be equally so in courtesy; and admirably did he succeed. After relating the speech just quoted, Froissart says, "there were murmurs of praise heard from every one, and the French said, the prince had spoken nobly and truly, and that he **would** be one of the most gallant princes in Christendom if God should grant him life to pursue his career of glory."

But whilst thus so amiably careful of the living, his care of the dead did not do him less honour. He sent out proper persons to examine all such as had fallen, and report to him their number and quality, and he lost as little time as was possible in giving them honourable burial.² The fruits of the victory, Froissart

¹ For a list of the most distinguished prisoners see *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 213.

² In BOUCHET's *Annales d'Aquitaine*, there is preserved an account of the burial of the slain in this battle, in which it appears that the convent

declares to have been the destruction of the flower of French chivalry, with prisoners twice as many in number as the whole force of the English army, and spoil so abundant that the companions of the prince were no less rich in wealth than they were in glory—the ransoms of the prisoners must have amounted to an immense sum,¹ but the quantity of gold and silver plate, costly ornaments, rich jewels, furred mantles, and gorgeous armour,² that also fell to the victors, must in value have even exceeded that amount, for the French had come to the battle, as to a sure conquest, decked out in all their riches. The dead on the side of the English were about 2000 men-at-arms and 1500 archers, whilst their opponents lost 11,000 men-at-arms and a proportionate number of the common soldiers.

The wounded, too, were well and kindly attended to. The prince visited many of those whose hurts were most serious, and gave them abundant proofs of his sympathy and liberality. His conduct to his brave companion the lord James Audley, as related by Froissart, affords a very striking picture of this prince's munificence, and shews the sterling materials in the characters of many of the great men who were his associates. This gallant nobleman had himself, when

of the Frères Mineurs, in the city of Poitiers, gave sepulture to the duke of Athens, constable of France, the bishop of Chalon, the viscount de Chauvigny, sir John, lord of Maully, in Berry, fifty-six other distinguished knights, and forty esquires. Many bodies, by permission of the mayor of the city, were brought in carts from the convent and buried in large graves in the churchyard of the town without the church, on St. Valentine's day, 1356; honourable obsequies being performed in all the religious edifices in Poitiers at the cost of its pious citizens. The same authority states that the arms of all the princes, knights, and lords, who had sepulture allowed them, were blazoned on the stalls of the convent in order to keep them in perpetual remembrance.

¹ Froissart says, that many were admitted to ransom on the field, and that they were very generously dealt with, moderate sums only being required, which, on the captives promising to pay, procured them their liberty.

² One of the trophies was the rich helmet of the king of France, bearing under the crest a coronet of gold. It had scarcely reached the hands of the Black Prince before he despatched it to the king his father, as the best testimony he could send of the completeness of his victory. RYMER *Fædera*, tom. iii. part i. p. 129.

he heard that the prince of Wales had inquired for him, carried in a litter to the prince's tent; and his young commander, after a few courtesies had passed between them, said, "Sir James, I and all the rest of us deem you the bravest knight on our side in this battle; and to increase your renown, and furnish you withal to pursue your career of glory in war, I retain you henceforward for ever as my knight, with 500 marks of yearly revenue, which I will secure to you from my estates in England." The lord Audley earnestly expressed his gratitude, but no sooner was he removed to his own tent than he sent for his relations, and, in their presence, he divided amongst the four faithful esquires who had defended him throughout this fearful fight the gift he had just received. When the prince heard of this, he expressed his satisfaction by bestowing on the lord James an additional grant of 600 marks.¹

"Thus far, Froissart," Barnes says, when mentioning this incident, "and for confirmation of his report, it appears from the testimony of our public records² that this lord Audley, for his singular services at that time, had a grant from that renowned prince of 400*l.* per annum, which grant was afterwards confirmed unto him by the king during life; and for a twelvemonth after he received out of the coinage of the stannaries in Cornwall and the prince's lands in that county."³

Thus, on the 19th day of September, 1356, was fought the ever-memorable battle of Poitiers, a theme of many a lofty song; which, well did it deserve to be, for it was one of those signal and wonderful victories in which extraordinary valour, and military capacity equally great, are occasionally found confounding all calculations derived from an overwhelming superiority in numbers and arms. Cressy was a glorious triumph, but Poitiers was infinitely more so. In one

¹ FROISSART, chap. clxviii.

² ROT. PAT. 33 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 14, *per Inspeximus*. Vid. DUGD. vol. i. p. 749, and ASHMOLE, *Garter*, p. 705.

³ *History of King Edward III.* p. 516.

of the manuscripts of Froissart, this is acknowledged in the following admissions—the more recent battle was much better fought than the other; that not being commenced till vespers, with the French army in disorder, but at Poitiers hostilities began in the morning, with the arrangements of the French commanders already completed; consequently, the battle had to be sharply contested before it could be won, and allowed great scope for the display of determined courage. Glorious as the field of Poitiers has been considered, its reputation has not been very carefully preserved by the inhabitants in its neighbourhood, amongst the majority of whom the story connected with it is quite unknown. But this indifference appears exceedingly natural. Frenchmen would very readily contrive to forget a legend connected with the locality which brought with it matter so little flattering to their vanity; and, in course of time, the peasant who drove his plough over the soil for centuries endeared to Englishmen would know as little of the great battle in which, in times past, his countrymen received so signal an overthrow as if it had been fought in the most remote corner of the globe.¹ So rapid was this oblivion that in 200 years all recollection of the spot so deserving immortality became completely lost; and it was only about the middle of the eighteenth century that, after much investigation, the exact position the English army occupied in the field became satisfactorily ascertained.²

The city of Poitiers and its vicinity at the present day present many features of interest, both to the antiquary and the lover of the picturesque. A narrow neck of land, while it serves to divide the two rivers Vonneuil and Clain, which nearly surround the city, connects the eminence on which it has been erected

¹ A modern English tourist seems to have been as forgetful of the victory as the most ignorant of the Poitevins, for he has managed to describe the neighbourhood without the slightest allusion to what should have been to him its principal source of interest. See TROLLOPE'S *Summer in Western France*, vol. ii. pp. 128-190.

² JAMES, vol. ii. p. 157.

with the more elevated part of the country to the southwest; and the ancient city walls, in a tolerable state of preservation, are still seen descending across it into the valleys on either side. The site of the old castle is now a public promenade, whence a magnificent view may be obtained, where river, rock, and ravine, form very prominent features. This part of France is also peculiarly rich in historical associations, and with its romantic landscapes bring memories of the olden time, affording pictures equally wild, animated, and imposing.¹

¹ "Le Poitou," says Michelet, "a été le champ de bataille du nord et du midi. C'est en Poitou que Clovis a défait les Gothes; que Charles Martel a repoussé les Sarrasins; que l'armée Anglo-Gasconne du Prince Noir a pris le Roi Jean." This historian goes on to enumerate its many other claims to attention, and his concluding words are, "La dernière lueur de la poésie Latine a brillé à Poitiers; l'aurore de la littérature moderne y a paru au douzième siècle."

CHAPTER IV.

Solemn Thanksgiving after the Victory—March of the Prince to the City of Bordeaux—His Reception there—His courteous Conduct to the Captive King—Purchases their Prisoners of the Gascons—Prodigality of the Victors—Rival Claimants of the honour of taking the King of France—Letter from the Prince of Wales to the Bishop of Worcester—Proposals for Peace—The Prince reconciled to the Cardinal de Perigord—Rapacity of his Gascon Allies—Return of the Prince to England—The Modesty of his Appearance—Rejoicing of the Citizens—Reception of the Captive King of France by King Edward—Pride of the King of England in the Popularity of his Son—His Establishment—Tournaments—The Prince accompanies his Father on a Pilgrimage—Preparations for renewing the War with France—Extraordinary Expenditure of the Prince of Wales—He is invested with the Rear-guard of the English Army—His Appearance, during its march from Calais, at the head of his division—The Campaign—Grand Hunting parties—Negotiations for Peace—Treaty concluded between the Dauphin of France and the Prince of Wales—Grand Ceremony at Paris of the Dauphin taking the oath to maintain the Treaty—Festivities in Calais preceding the return of the King of France to his Dominions—Pilgrimage of King John to our Lady of Boulogne—Return of the Prince to England—His Popularity with the Ladies—The Fair Maid of Kent—Singular Courtship—His Marriage—Public Rejoicings—The Prince and Princess keep their Christmas at Berkhamstead—The King creates his son Prince of Aquitaine—Farewell Visit of the King and Queen and their Family to Berkhamstead—The Prince and Princess and their Retinue sail from England—They land at Rochelle.

EARLY in the morning after the battle of Poitiers, the Black Prince ordered a solemn thanksgiving¹ to the Great Disposer of events, to be offered up on the scene of his glorious triumph; and most devoutly was the command fulfilled. One of the best traits in the prince's character was observable in the reverence he ever displayed for the power and dignity of the Creator, hastening, on every occasion, to shew that he disclaimed any merit in his own exertions by attributing the marvellous successes that had distinguished his arms to

¹ POLYDORE VIRGIL, l. xix. p. 381, n. 14.

the interposition of the Supreme Being. In this instance his acknowledgments were more than usually impressive, and his behaviour exhibited him to great advantage in the character of the Christian soldier, of which he continued, during his career, one of the finest examples produced in any age or any country. Had fate willed that his laurels were to have been gathered amongst the infidels, there can be little doubt, he would there have raised the Christian name and the Christian power to the same proud eminence to which he elevated the martial character of England; but his countrymen ought to be better pleased that he found his Palestine nearer home. Prayers being ended, every man made a hearty repast, after which the prince, in presence of his distinguished prisoners, handsomely commended and rewarded his brave followers.¹

A party of 100 lances had reinforced the garrison of Poitiers, and great preparations were made to put the town in a good posture of defence; but the expected attack the Black Prince had no intention of making, his object now being to place the valuable results of the recent victory in as secure a place, and with as little delay, as possible; therefore his troops were marched by the walls in a compact body, their immense booty and numerous prisoners carefully guarded; and they proceeded, taking no notice whatever of the town or of any other fortress they met with in their line of march, preceded by the battalion of the marshals with about 500 men-at-arms to clear the way. They fully expected some daring attempt would be made by such of the French force as still might have been brought into the field, in a formidable body, to rescue their king, and recover the vast treasures in the hands of his captors; but the military power of France seemed thrown prostrate by the blow it had just received. The commanders in whose union and energy there was yet a prospect of retrieving the losses the country had sustained appeared to care only to get themselves out of harm's way; and the counsels of such of the nobles

¹ POLYDORÉ VIRGIL, l. xix. p. 381, n. 15.

as were influenced by a spirit worthy of themselves and their country were far from adequate to the desperate emergency which so urgently called for their interference. The result was that the prince of Wales and his army advanced without meeting any obstacle, passing through Poitou and Saintonge, thence to Blaye, where they crossed the Garonne, and soon afterwards found themselves in perfect safety in the good city of Bordeaux.¹

"It can hardly be imagined," says a trustworthy authority, almost in the words of Froissart,² "with what extravagant joy and triumph, and honourable feastings and splendid pageants, this victorious prince was received into that city, both by the clergy and laity, all sorts of people extolling his praise, and rejoicing in his presence." He conducted the French king with the same generous courtesy he had shewn towards him since he had been his captive, to the monastery of St. Andrew, where he lodged him on one side the building and himself on the other. The most careful attention was paid to his comfort, and no less regard shewn for his amusement—every sort of entertainment the age produced worthy of presenting to him was, with all possible attraction, procured for his exclusive gratification: the prince evidently striving to reconcile him to his captivity, and in the pleasing character his sympathy assumed to make amends for the neglect of his subjects.³ The better to enable his gallant Gascons to enjoy themselves after their own fashion in the pleasures of Bordeaux, the Black Prince purchased from them, with ready money, and often at very large sums, the greater part of the prisoners of consequence remaining on their hands,⁴ and those who had been

¹ FROISSART, chap. clxviii.

² BARNES, p. 516.

³ There were some exceptions; but they were very few, and were not entitled to much consideration. The principal being the count d'Armagnac, who exhibited his sympathy and respect for his captive monarch by forwarding to Bordeaux certain articles of plate for his use.

⁴ For James of Bourbon 25,000 crowns of gold were paid. RYMER *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part i. p. 132. By the law of arms, every prisoner, whose

allowed to go at large, now hastening to pay their ransoms, every individual in the army soon possessed what he considered such prodigious wealth, it appeared as if it could never be exhausted. Feasting and all other gratifications money could procure were indulged in day after day, till the city seemed given up to a general spirit of revelry—every house becoming an hostel, and every individual it contained, whether visitor or inhabitant, sharing in the enjoyments there so prodigally dispensed by the victors of Poitiers.

A dispute which seemed likely to mar the universal harmony was raised by the different claimants to the honour of having taken prisoner the king of France. They were Gascons, whose cupidity on other occasions put Edward of Woodstock to considerable trouble and expense. The right of Denys de Morbeque was disputed amongst others by a squire called Bernard de Prouttes, and each stoutly maintained their claims before the prince and his chief nobles. A challenge having already passed between them, they were placed under arrest, the prince forbidding any steps to be taken in the quarrel till it could be decided by his father; but as king John seemed to recognise the right of Sir Denys, who appears to have been in great poverty, 2000 crowns were privately given him in order that he should be enabled properly to support his rank and claim in the presence of the king of England.

It must not be supposed that the prince of Wales gave himself up to the enjoyments within his reach as entirely as the mass of his thoughtless companions. His first task was to write a modest account of his successes to his father,¹ promising, God willing, to cross the sea into England with his captive, the king of France, and his other prisoners, in the ensuing spring, by which time he expected to be able to furnish himself with a suitable navy. He also wrote the

ransom amounted to more than 10,000 crowns, belonged to the king. *Selden's Mare Clausum*, l. i. c. xxvi. p. 171; but at Poitiers it appears that this law was not enforced.

¹ *Polydore Virgil*, p. 381.

following characteristic letter to the bishop of Worcester :—

“ Reverend Father in God and very dear friend,

“ We thank you heartily, for, as we have heard, you have been well and affectionately inclined towards us in praying to God for us and our enterprise, which we are very certain succeeded on account of your prayers and those of others. God has been pleased to aid us in all our necessities, for which we are bound to give Him thanks for ever ; and we pray that you will also do your part, continuing with us as heretofore, for which service we hold ourselves much indebted to you. And, reverend father, in regard to our health, of which we believe that you in your kindness desire to hear good news, know that, at this time, we are well and happy, and altogether in a good condition, praise be to God, which enables us now to let you hear and know that which we wish you to certify in your letters, and in frequent visits, which you priests good-naturedly permit, for the purpose of circulating news.

“ You must know that, on the eve of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, we commenced an incursion, with our power, into the French territory, chiefly because we expected the arrival of our much-honoured lord and father in those parts ; and thus we advanced into the countries of Berge in Berry, Orleans, and Tours, and had news that the king of France, with a great power, was at hand, and was coming to fight with us, and we approached so near that a battle took place between us, in which the enemy was discomfited, thanks be to God, and the said king and his son, and several other gentlemen, were taken or killed ; for whose names we refer you to our very dear bachelor master Roger de Cottesford, the bearer of these. Render thanks to God, and may the Holy Ghost have you, our very dear friend, always in his keeping.

“ Given under our seal at Bordeaux, the 20th day of October.”¹

Proposals for peace also obtained the prince of Wales's earnest attention ; these were set on foot by the cardinal of Perigord, who made his appearance at Bordeaux not long after the return of the English army to that city. The reception he met with from the prince was far from encouraging ; till, being made acquainted with the cause of such conduct, the prelate protested, *in verbo sacerdotis*, that he had no knowledge of the proceedings of his servants, which, with the assurances of the lords of Chaumont and Montferrat, and the Captal de Buch, who were the cardinal's kinsmen, restored him to the Black Prince's good opinion. After this he was so charmed with the prince that he wrote to the pope speaking in the handsomest terms of his moderation, which elicited from

¹ For the original see *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 213.

Innocent an epistle to the young conqueror, wherein, after much, to him, superfluous counsel, "to give God the sole honour of his victory," the pontiff rather ambiguously says, "We nothing doubt, nay perhaps we are certain, by how much you have received more prosperous things of the hand of the Lord, are so much the more prompt to peace, so much the more favourably inclined to concord." Then follows an urgent appeal for peace. In a subsequent letter, after the prince had given an honourable reception to one of his cardinals, the pope appeared to understand better the character of his correspondent.¹

The diplomacy of the pontiff was found to lean so much towards France, that liberal as the Black Prince was, he could not allow it to take its course, nor, however ample might have been the authority with which the king his father had invested him, could it have sufficed to sanction concessions so glaringly impolitic as he was called upon to make; therefore, endeavouring to satisfy some of the most pressing demands, he promised to exercise his influence towards obtaining a truce, and making the duke of Lancaster, then actively besieging Rennes, raise the siege. He then found himself obliged to refer the negotiators of the peace to the king of England.² Whilst these proceedings were carried on, the prince of Wales was making active preparations for the return of himself and his forces to England. These did not appear to give any dissatisfaction to his Gascon allies, till he informed their captains he intended carrying the king of France with him. Then, notwithstanding he treated them very handsomely, and promised some should accompany him to England and others be left in important commands to protect the frontiers, they were so good as to tell the prince it was not their intention the captive

¹ BARNES, p. 518.

² It would appear from Mr. James's account of these conferences, vol. ii. p. 184, that the prince of Wales brought them to a conclusion at this time by the proclamation of a truce for two years, but there is good authority for believing that the negotiation was removed from Bordeaux to London, where king Edward took upon himself the management of it, which was not arranged till towards the conclusion of the month of June.

(whose ransom had many attractions in their eyes) should leave Bordeaux, arguing very seriously for his better security where he was, and their assistance in taking him prisoner.

The prince is reported to have replied,¹ “ My dear lords, I willingly agree to all you have said ; but the king, my father, wishes to have him and to see him. We are very sensible and thankful for the services which you have done both to him and myself, and you may depend on being handsomely rewarded for them.” But these worthies seemed duly impressed with the superior advantages of the bird in the hand, and were not to be so readily appeased ; the lord Reginald Cobham and Sir John Chandos, who knew their comrades thoroughly, unobserved recommended the prince to present them with a sum of money. He immediately offered 60,000 florins ; but, handsome as the bribe was, it was far from satisfying their cupidity. They had spent all their money in riotous extravagances and were anxious to replenish their empty coffers. It was finally arranged that they should receive 100,000 florins. They had then no objections to make to the departure of the French king, and had nothing further to advance on the superiority of Bordeaux as a place of security for his residence.

The prince, having arranged this business to their satisfaction, nominated four of the principal Gascon nobles governors of the country till his return, and taking with him several others of whom the Captal de Buch was one, on the 23d of April he set sail with his fleet, his prisoners and treasures guarded by 500 men-at-arms and 2000 archers, and the king of France accommodated with one of the finest ships, in order, as Froissart says, that he might be more at ease. After a protracted voyage of eleven days and nights, on the 12th they were landed safely at Sandwich,²

¹ FROISSART, chap. clxxii.

² James, in stating Plymouth to have been the port in which the Black Prince disembarked, follows Walsingham, whose statement he considers is corroborated by a paper in Rymer, ordering carriages to be ready there for the conveyance of the baggage of the prince to London ; but this is by

in Kent, on the 5th of May. Here they made a stay of two days, taking up their lodgings in the town and neighbourhood, to refresh themselves sufficiently after their tedious voyage. The heroes of Cressy were not likely to appear among the sturdy men of Kent without exciting a proper feeling of admiration; thence they proceeded to Canterbury where they remained one day, and during their stay they enriched the shrine of St. Thomas with many splendid offerings.

As soon as the return of the Black Prince became known in London, the king gave orders that preparations should be made by the citizens worthy of doing honour to his illustrious prisoner; but the good news travelled fast, and, on the prince and the king of France arriving at Rochester the day succeeding that on which they had entered Canterbury, the whole country poured out to behold them, and thenceforth their progress was an ovation. The third day they came to Dartford, and the fourth to London; the king of France in royal robes, on a stately white steed with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales, with his usual unassuming appearance, riding in humble attendance at his side on a little black hackney.¹ The joyous citizens presented themselves by companies, very richly attired, every master being differently

no means so conclusive as he imagines. The prince might have designed landing at Plymouth, and preparations would in consequence be made there for his reception, but from the extraordinary length of his voyage, it is very probable that he met with contrary winds which obliged him to depart from his original intention, and land at the first convenient port he could enter. Froissart was not likely to be misinformed on such a point, he speaks decidedly, and I have no doubt he was correct. BARNES p. 256, follows his authority, and denies the statements of Knighton and Walsingham.

¹ There has been more than one instance in the annals of the kings of Europe of a marked distinction in the choice of steeds, when two of the most distinguished in its exalted circle have rode together through the public streets; one is mentioned by Mezeray in the year 1378, when Charles, king of France, entertaining Charles the Emperor with extraordinary splendour, accompanied him on his public entrance into Paris mounted on a stately white horse, having procured for his imperial visitor a steed of the opposite colour, but varying as this does from the example mentioned in the text, it is still further departed from in another instance, familiar to every reader of Shakspeare.

apparelled;¹ and in the line of streets through which the procession advanced, after passing over London bridge towards Westminster, every tenement displayed the wealth of its owner, and the eye dwelt on long lines of quaint edifices adorned with trophies of plate, tapestry, silks and other rich fabrics, mingled with such an incredible quantity of bows and arrows, shields, helmets, corslets, breast and back pieces, coats of mail, gauntlets, vambraces, swords, spears, battle-axes, harness for horses, and other armour both offensive and defensive, that the like had never been seen in the memory of man. The immense crowds² which thronged from all the neighbourhood in a circle of many miles to behold the proud sight presented to them so checked the progress of the procession, that it is stated to have lasted from three in the morning till high noon, at which period it reached Westminster hall, where the king and queen of England, sitting in state with a magnificent company, awaited its approach. We are told that the prince of Wales presented his royal captive to his father, who, in the same spirit that had done his son so much honour, rose from his throne, and offered the king of France as honourable a welcome as if he had entered his dominions on a visit of compliment.³ He was sumptuously feasted in the palace, where apartments were provided for his temporary lodging, till the splendid structure of the Savoy could be made ready for his residence, to which afterwards he was conveyed with most honourable attendance, and every disposition shewn to lighten his captivity.

The prince was, of course, the idol of the multitude; the tales which were speedily circulated of his bravery, his skill, his wonderful exertions to overthrow his enemies, and his extraordinary humanity and moderation when the most marvellous successes were obtained, always found an attentive and enthusiastic audience. It is too often the case that any degree of popularity

¹ "A doucques ceux de Londres se vestirent par Connestablies, et très richement : et tous les maîtres en draps differens des autres."—FROISSART.

² WALSLINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 164. SPEED, p. 582.

³ MEZERAY, p. 49.

enjoyed by his heir, which throws or appears to throw the resigning monarch into the shade, excites in the latter feelings of jealousy that disturb the happiness of both, and not unfrequently lead to mischievous consequences; but Edward the Third was a king of a very different stamp; he took a just and noble pride in seeing his son so great a favourite amongst his people, and did every thing in his power to encourage the excessive admiration with which he was universally regarded. The victor of Poitiers, high as he was in the estimation of his countrymen, was even more esteemed by his proud and happy father, and in the festivities and pageants that followed each other in rapid succession at this period he would not have him shorn of the slightest honour that was his due.

The favourite residence of Edward of Woodstock, both at this time and at a later period, was the palace, or, more properly speaking, the castle, of Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, which with its lands had belonged to the earls of Cornwall from the time of William the Conqueror; it was settled on Isabella, wife of king John, and afterwards came, with the title, to Richard his youngest son; it descended to his only surviving son Edmund, who died in the twenty-eighth year of Edward the First, without issue, leaving that king his heir. But the property, as appears from an inquisition made soon afterwards, could not be considered a very splendid bequest, for it was there found that the castle as to its issues was worth nothing per annum, that the houses, of which several existed without the castle, were let, affording something like a revenue for its support; there was also a great stable, in its existing state worth no more than the castle, a large and a small garden, a mill-pool with a ditch round the castle, having a fishery worth 20s. yearly; several water-mills, one worth yearly 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and another 8*l.* annually; a park with the deer, the pasture of which was worth 10*s.* per annum, and a wood called del Frith, the annual value of which is not named.¹ Nevertheless, inconsiderable as this esti-

¹ CLUTTERBUCK'S *History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, vol. i. p. 294.

mate may be thought, Berkhamstead was of sufficient value to be made the dower of king Edward's second wife Margaret. In the following reign the custody of the castle went, with the earldom of Cornwall, to the royal favourite Piers de Gavestone; at his death it reverted to the crown, and, after passing through the hands of one or two other needy courtiers, was bestowed on John of Eltham, second son of Edward the Second, on becoming earl of Cornwall. He died without issue, and when this earldom was raised into a dukedom by Edward the Third as a distinction for his eldest son, then so expressly created, among other possessions which came to the duke of Cornwall, the king gave Berkhamstead with its park and manor, to hold to him and the heirs of the eldest sons of the kings of England and the dukes of the said place.

There is no doubt that, since this property had been demised to Edward the First, extensive repairs had been made in the castle, and corresponding improvements in every direction, to render it a fitting residence for the favourite son of Edward the Third; and, from the almost regal state which in after years Edward of Woodstock kept up at Berkhamstead, it is reasonable to suppose that it had been gradually raised in value, till its estimate held very little resemblance to that of the inquisition just mentioned. Many magnificent edifices were at this period being raised in different parts of England, and the taste for building, which Edward the Third is said to have displayed, is likely enough to have exhibited itself in beautifying this ancient structure. It is not probable that the prince would have become so exceedingly attached to the place as he undoubtedly was if it had not possessed more than ordinary attractions.¹

As the park is known to have contained 1252 acres, was well stocked with deer, with wood and water in

¹ CLUTTERBUCK'S *History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, vol. i. p. 295.
CHAUNCEY'S *History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, p. 581.

abundance in its immediate neighbourhood, some idea may be obtained of the advantages it afforded as a place of pleasurable recreation. It not only allowed of the most agreeable rides and walks; the most admirable means for enjoying the field-sports then in vogue, but could upon an occasion easily be rendered a theatre for the display of those chivalrous ceremonies and exercises in which the victor of Poitiers and his brave companions delighted. The prince's establishment for these out-of-door enjoyments was on the most extensive and magnificent scale, and no less so were his domestic arrangements. They had, doubtless, at his first occupation of the castle been formed for him by his father, whose skill and judgment in such matters were borne willing testimony to by those of his successors on the throne, who found occasion to lay down explicit directions for the establishment and government of their households. He is always referred to as though regarded by them as the Augustus of his time. We may then safely consider that every attention was paid to his son's comfort and dignity, in the nature and extent of the buildings he occupied; that a state very little inferior to that observed at Westminster or Windsor was here maintained; and that it was supported by a throng of civil and military officers, and a crowd of domestic servants, inferior only in number and importance to the royal household.

The town house of Edward of Woodstock was situated in a locality, which at the present day is very far from being so fashionable as it must have been in the time of the Black Prince: this royal mansion rose in the classic purlieus of Billingsgate, on a portion of Fish-street hill.¹ But the banks of the Thames from the Tower to Charing Cross, for a period long subsequent to the fourteenth century, boasted of a series of royal and noble mansions, of which Northumberland House is the only one not abandoned by the owners. Fish-street hill, however vulgar may be its associations

¹ Stow's *Survey of London*. By Thoms, p. 81.

now, was in the days of the Black Prince the headquarters of chivalry and romance. Where now the piled up waggon or heavy dray is slowly drawn along, pranced the richly caparisoned steeds of the noblest knights of the middle ages; and on the same spot, now covered by the warehouses of the dry-salter or slopseller, stood the chambers of a palace, where all the beauty, rank, and bravery in the land received princely entertainment.

Of the amusements of the period, those in a military character, particularly tournaments, were in such favour with the Black Prince, that it was rarely he was absent from any held in England during his residence there. The most remarkable of those in which he assisted was the one in which king Edward, with his four eldest sons and several of his most distinguished knights, represented the principal officers of the corporation of London challenging all comers. The Black Prince assumed the character of the senior sheriff, John Barnes, in which, for the three days the tournament lasted, he bore himself so gallantly, that the good citizens who were not in the secret were amazed at the prowess of their sheriff; and when they discovered the honour that had been conferred upon the city, their astonishment was only exceeded by their admiration. He also took a prominent part in the martial games and pageants given at Reading in honour of the marriage of his brother, "John of Gaunt,"¹ who, on the 19th of May, 1359, took to wife, by special dispensation from the pope, his cousin, the lady Blanch, second daughter to Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaster. His time, however, was not solely given to amusement. He accompanied his father in a visit to the principal shrines in the kingdom, when another invasion of France was preparing, where he devoutly joined with him in prayers for a glorious war or an honourable peace. It was on this

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 166, et MS. *Vet. Ang. in Bib. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 230, cited by Baines.

occasion, according to the MS. to which reference has just been made, that king Edward, after paying his devotions at Westminster abbey, passing the monuments of his ancestors, selected his own place of sepulture in the chapel of St. Edward, close to his shrine, "Commanding his son, upon his blessing, when it should please God to call him out of this transitory life to a better, to lay his body there and nowhere else."

In the preparations now being made in England, with great activity, for a renewal of the war with France, the prince of Wales laboured incessantly to afford all the assistance in his power; but difficulties appeared to exist in the way of his joining this grand expedition by which he must have been greatly harassed. Ample as were his means, a nature so generous as his, and so careless of money, must in time have exhausted the most flourishing exchequer. The Black Prince dispensed his gifts with so free a hand, that he often found himself, after rewarding with his customary liberality his brave associates, unable to meet his ordinary expenses, and was obliged to delay payment from time to time, till the accumulation of such claims became a source of equal anxiety and annoyance. At this period the importunity of his creditors¹ took so formidable a shape, that it became necessary to make an arrangement to satisfy them; and with this object the king agreed that the revenues derivable from the possessions settled upon his son during his life should, in case he died in the present war, remain in the hands of his executors for four years afterwards for the payment of his debts. This is the second arrangement of the kind which it became necessary to make within a few years; but the circumstances which so imperatively called for it must, in this instance, have been greatly aggravated, as the claims upon him could not have amounted to much less than 40,000*l.*, an enormous

¹ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 185.

sum in those days. This arrangement was deemed satisfactory, and the prince, with his natural buoyancy, pressed forward his warlike preparations.

It may readily be imagined that the English people were not less eager than on former occasions to join the popular son of their monarch. A force was collected which England had never before seen raised for such a purpose, and the Black Prince arrived in safety with his father at Calais; and when the army marched out of the town to commence the campaign, the prince was in command of the rear-guard, accompanied by his three brothers, Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt, and Edmund, afterwards duke of York, with 2000 spears, 4000 mounted archers, and a proportionate force of foot. His appearance at the head of his division is thus picturesquely described.

“After which came the prince of Wales in the head of his great battle, armed most furiously at all points. His shield of arms, which were France and England quartered, over all a label of three points argent, was richly diapered with gold; the same being curiously embossed and depicted with embroidery on his surcoat, and the caparisons of his horse, and on his crest was a lion gorged with a labell, as afore. All his men likewise were gallantly armed, and for multitude, seemed to overspread the whole country. Thus the Black Prince rode fair and softly, ready ranged in battle array, as though he had been to engage immediately, being still distant a league or two after the king, (for the carriages took up the space between), and having a wing both of horse and foot.”¹

This campaign having already been narrated,² there can be no occasion of here saying more than that it afforded no opportunity for the display of those brilliant talents the Black Prince had exhibited in former invasions of France. If, however, it was not fruitful to him in glory, it could scarcely have failed to have been gratifying to him in other respects, as it frequently assumed much more the aspect of a grand hunting excursion than a serious war; the king of England having brought with him a pack of sixty couple of hounds, as many greyhounds, and a train of thirty mounted falconers, well furnished with hounds, which procured excellent sport for all who chose to partake of

¹ BARNES, p. 567.

² See *Life of Edward of Windsor*

it, from amongst whom the king and his sons were rarely absent.¹ Still more pleasing must have been to him the share he had in the spring of the following year in bringing about a peace between the two countries, in which he played a very prominent part. The famous treaty of Renunciation—so called because therein the king of France renounced the sovereignty of several territories to the king of England, whilst the latter abandoned his claim to the kingdom of France and other places—commences with the name of the Black Prince; and other documents, of nearly the same date, are in existence, which equally prove he was fully authorised to conclude a peace; but this appears to have been merely a matter of etiquette. King John could not be considered by his subjects a responsible agent, because he was a prisoner, and Edward the Third did not think it politic to negotiate in his own name with one who was below the dignity of a sovereign prince, therefore the prince of Wales and the dauphin of France, being on a perfect equality, were allowed to arrange a treaty, which, under other circumstances, would have been entered into only by their fathers.

This document having been duly considered and approved of, four barons of England were sent to Paris early in the month of May, on the part of Edward of Woodstock, as witnesses of the oath of the dauphin to maintain inviolable its several articles. They were received by the Parisians—wearied and exhausted as they had been by the war—with extraordinary demonstrations of welcome; the church-bells were rung, flowers and branches of trees, according to some authorities, and cloth of gold according to others, ornamented their path, and the people thronged to behold the ambassadors with as much eagerness and satisfaction as if they had come to recognise their triumph instead of their humiliation. The deputation went at once to the palace, where they were honourably received by all the members of the royal family,

¹ RYMER, tom. iii. part i. p. 201.

attended by a brilliant assemblage of nobles and prelates, before whom, and as many other spectators as could obtain admittance to such a place, shortly afterwards, whilst the ceremony of low mass was being performed, when there had been thrice sung, "O Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace," Charles, the dauphin and regent of France, went up to the altar, and laying his right hand on the Paten, wherein lay the Holy Eucharist, and his left on the Gospel, he took his oath in these words—"We, Charles, do swear, upon the holy body and the Gospel of our Lord, firmly what in us lies to keep this peace and concord thus formed between the two kings, and on no account to oppose it: so help us, God."¹ After the ceremony, the English nobles were sumptuously feasted, and the regent, as a mark of his particular regard, from among the relics he took an opportunity of exhibiting presented them with a thorn supposed to have formed a portion of the crown of our Saviour. Then they were courteously dismissed, and four nobles of France were selected by the dauphin to witness the oath of the prince of Wales, whom they found at Louviers in Normandy, and who, on the 16th of May, before them and a vast concourse of spectators, in the church of that town, took the same oath that the dauphin had taken six days before at Paris.

Shortly afterwards, leaving a strong force in France, the Black Prince passed over to England, where, however, he did not long remain. Arrangements having been made for the return of king John to his dominions, he, on the 9th of the following July, with the duke of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, and other distinguished personages of his father's court, accompanied the French king to Calais. Here he so exerted himself in forwarding as much as possible the liberation of the king of France, and in making the delay agreeable to him, by every courtesy his graceful

¹ WAL-INGHAM, *Hist.* p. 167; FABIAN, p. 241; *Chron. de France*, chap. cxxx.

and gallant spirit could demise, that all difficulties were soon removed. On the arrival of his father at Calais, the most magnificent entertainments were given by the two monarchs to each other, in which the Black Prince and the duke of Lancaster enjoyed the honour of sitting down to the same banquet with them; but the last day of their stay in Calais the royal prisoner was invited to a festival, given in compliment to him by the king of England, in which both the prince and the duke, together with the most distinguished of the English barons, served the kings at their table bare-headed.¹

The liberated king, attended by the prince of Wales and his brothers Lionel and Edmund, to shew his gratitude for having obtained his freedom after a captivity of four years, left Calais on the 25th of October, and thence proceeded on foot on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. Having there arrived, the gratification of his son the dauphin, and of a multitude of his subjects, who were waiting to behold their restored monarch, appeared to suffer no diminution at the sight of the heroic commander by whose prowess he had been made a captive. They all marched in solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame, where Edward of Woodstock made his offerings as devoutly as those who had more cause for joining in the ceremony, and then proceeded with the king to the abbey at Boulogne, where he and his companions were sumptuously treated, and were not allowed to depart till the next day, when they took a courteous leave of king John and all his court, and returned to Calais—the Black Prince leaving on the mind of that monarch a most powerful impression of gallantry, courtesy, and manly virtue. There is, however, but too much cause for doubting that he profited by it to the extent some historians have represented.

The prince, a few days afterwards, returned with his father to England, where the share he had had, both by his valour and diplomacy, in procuring the valuable

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxiii.

concessions which, by the treaty of Bretigny, England had obtained from France, did not pass unnoticed.

The return of Edward of Windsor to his dominions occasioned a series of magnificent entertainments, in which, to the delight of the people whose idol he had long been, the Black Prince appeared in his usual place, and conducted himself with his customary gallantry. The admiration with which he was regarded had for some time been pretty fairly divided between the two sexes, and amongst his countrywomen he was so prodigious a favourite, that his having remained a bachelor so long could not be said to be any fault of theirs. There is no reason for believing that, among the principal ladies of his father's court, it was difficult to find a suitable match for him, or that, bred so much in camps, he was not likely to possess those minor, but important social graces, that would have recommended him to some fair and gentle dame worthy of being honoured with his attentions. Ladies there were in the kingdom who by family and fortune were well deserving his alliance, and few amongst them were indisposed to make allowances for whatever deficiency, had he any, in the proper conduct of a lover, there might be witnessed in him. But the fact was he was little less irresistible in ladies' bower than in tented field, and having agreed to act as ambassador for one of his companions to a lady reputed to be the loveliest and wealthiest heiress in England; he pressed his friend's suit with an eloquence so powerful, she found such admirable wooing impossible to be withstood. Unfortunately for his friend, however, it was the agent and not the principal who was preferred, and it was only after many determined denials of his wishes, and a pretty intelligible demonstration of the exact state of her feelings, that the prince could be brought to give up his ambassadorship, and negotiate on his own account.

The lady, whose good fortune and good taste were so conspicuous, was no blushing damsel, captivating her heroic lover by the all-powerful charms of youth

and innocence: she was a widow, had arrived at the experienced age of thirty-two, and had already formed two attachments which had produced her considerable inconvenience. From the particulars of her history on record, it is ascertained that Joan, the daughter of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Kent, was in her youth possessed of such remarkable personal attractions, as to be celebrated far and wide as "the fair maid of Kent;" and, in consequence of her two brothers dying without issue, after a long minority, she became, as countess of Kent, no less famous as an heiress than as a beauty. When a child, she had been affianced to Thomas lord Holland, one of the knights of the garter; but having been left in the charge of the countess of Salisbury, who was anxious an alliance so desirable, both as regards the royal family with which the young lady was so nearly connected, and the possessions to which she was indisputably entitled, should strengthen her own family, she caused her to be contracted to the heir of the house of Montagu. As soon as he obtained intelligence of this, lord Holland appealed to the pope, who was so satisfied of the justice of his prior claim, that he annulled the second contract, and the fair maid of Kent became countess of Holland. By her husband she had two sons and a daughter; and some short time after the birth of her third child, the lord Holland, dying, left her a widow with such immense wealth in lands and other property as to cause her to be considered the richest gentlewoman in England. In the prime of womanhood, abundantly adorned with its best graces, and offering almost incalculable riches to whoever should succeed in inducing her again to enter within the pale of matrimony, it cannot be supposed she was allowed to continue her widowed state undisturbed. But to the crowd of suitors that thronged around her, many of whom were such as would have done her no discredit to have selected, she was totally indifferent; her whole affections were fixed upon her heroic cousin the Black Prince; and when he came before her as

the advocate of his friend's passion,¹ she could not conceal her partiality.

The lover she so greatly desired she obtained, and, much to the satisfaction of his parents, immediately a dispensation from the pope could be obtained,² to free them from the shackles of their consanguinity, the prince of Wales was married to her, on the 10th of October.³ There is no doubt that the king, who took so great an interest in every thing that concerned his favourite son, celebrated his nuptials with due magnificence. It was a most satisfactory marriage in every point of view, not only in the prospect it afforded of a great increase of happiness to the prince: but in the ample means it brought with it for gratifying his munificent spirit in the princely fashion he was ever so ready to employ. Nor did the people shew less satisfaction at it than their monarch; throughout the land all seemed one scene of feasting and good-fellowship, his faithful companions in arms every where celebrated these auspicious nuptials with such extravagant content as they would have felt only at the winning of another Cressy or Poitiers, and graver heads, with gratification less boisterous, rejoiced not the less deeply or sincerely, regarding it as strengthening the hopes they had entertained for the prosperity of England, when the noble character of their prince began to develope itself.

There followed a long season of rejoicing, which does not appear to have been greatly checked by a visitation of that dreadful epidemic, "the plague." This time it passed over the country more lightly than usual; nevertheless, it numbered its victims by thousands.⁴ The prince and princess of Wales spent their

¹ HARDING, c. 185, f. 186.

² There was another obstacle in the way of their marriage besides their relationship, for, according to ASHMOLE, p. 670, the prince had stood godfather to the countess's eldest son, which obligation equally required a dispensation.

³ RYMER *Fædera*, tom. iii. part i. p. 47. Barnes is particularly grandiloquent on this union. — *Hist. of Ed. III.* p. 618.

⁴ Mr. JAMES (*Hist. Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 243) mentions it as having "confined its ravages principally to the higher classes of society;"

Christmas, with a due observance of the customary festivities, in their palace at Berkhamstead. Their household was little inferior in its appearance of state to that of the king and, queen, and in the entertainment of the company by whom they were visited, each day rivalled its predecessor in games and banquets, singing, dancing, and all the various other pleasant ways in fashion for passing the time. When the weather permitted, all assembled to enjoy the field-sports, then allowable; and the woods and fields in the vicinity resounded with the gladdening shouts of a brilliant field of sportsmen and sportswomen, galloping after the hounds, or watching the flight of the hawks, with the picturesque accessories characteristic of a hawking or hunting party of the fourteenth century. The in-door amusements at the palace afforded no less gratification, whether in the shape of a new romance, a famous minstrel, a moving ballad, a stately dance, or any other of the various pleasures which were the resource of both sexes in courtly society at this period. In the ladies' bower, despite of her being a dowager, it cannot be supposed that the amorous ditty, in such favour with queen Philippa and her ladies, should have been a stranger to her ears. It shared her attentions equally with the various stirring versions of her lord's triumphs in France, which throughout the land had become the most popular minstrelsy. But whatever were the favourite enjoyments of either, it is beyond question their chief happiness was in each other.

The jousts and tournaments given by king Edward in the spring of 1362 drew the Black Prince and his bride to London, to take their proper places at these entertainments, where the beauty of the princess was not less distinguished than the knightly appearance and gallant behaviour of the prince. But the king had

then proceeds to mention *two* individuals of "the higher classes," who died of it. BARNES, p. 616, following MATT. VILLANI, l. x. c. 45, p. 54, says that in London alone, on St. John's day and the day following, there died little less than 1200; and Stow, p. 265, calls it "a great dearth and pestilence."

already entertained an idea of removing them to a sphere of more usefulness. The prince was in the full vigour of body and mind; and it seemed to be doing his great worth no little injustice to retain him in splendid idleness in England, when there might readily be obtained for him abroad an occupation worthy of his ability and his birth. On this subject the king advised with his council, and, with their full consent, he created his son prince of the southern provinces of France, the sovereignty of which, by the late treaty of Renunciation with the French king, had been ceded to the king of England, included under the name of Aquitaine.¹ The charter of donation and creation is dated July 19th, 1363; this was accompanied by another of the same date, incorporated with it, by which the king reserved the sovereignty of the principality to himself and his heirs; and on the margin of the roll² is inscribed, “Pro Edvardo Principe Aquitanie et Wallie.” The one in French and the other in Latin are preserved in Selden³ and in Rymer.⁴

These instruments were framed by the sagacious monarch with no less regard to the interests of his country than to the dignity of his son—sound policy and generous affection being therein so nicely balanced, it cannot be said he forgot the king in the father, or put aside his patriotism when displaying his liberality.

No sooner had the prince received this new and splendid investiture than he commenced his preparations for taking possession of his government. His bravest companions thronged around him to offer

¹ “This prince was alsoe prince of Aquitaine, which containeth all Gascoine and Gwyen in France, by which noe doubt hee had great benyfitt and command, and therbie alsoe the disposing of manie great places and offices within this principalltie or duchie; there he had 4 archbishopricks, 24 bishopricks, 15 earldomes, 202 baronies, and above 1000 captain-hipps, and bayliwicks. Doctor POWELL, page 384, and HOLINSHED, p. 869, doe say that he was duke of Aquitaine, and that it was done in parliament, for soe it appeareth in an old parchement booke wh I have seen, where the patent of this creation is inserted.” — *MS. Princes of Wales.*

² *Rot. VASCON*, 36 Ed. III. m. 18, n. 17.

³ *Titles of Honour*, part ii. chap. iii. p. 487.

⁴ *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 66.

their congratulations and services ; and several were so fortunate as to obtain permission to accompany him. The year passed away partly in grand festivals and hunting parties, which the king gave with more than ordinary magnificence, and in a great measure in obtaining information and advice from all creditable authorities as to the character and resources of the country submitted to his supremacy. At Christmas the king and queen and their fine family, with their numerous attendants, took up their residence at Berkhamstead, with the prince and princess of Aquitaine,¹ and there ensued a round of revels of the usual character, possessing every thing which could most gratify the royal company, save the conviction that such a reunion they were likely to see again. The king and the prince had frequent conferences at this period, no doubt on the science of government, for which the former was as well qualified an instructor as he had proved himself on the science of war ; and probably, at the same time, the amiable and accomplished Philippa gave the princess the benefit of her experience,—a source of no less admirable teaching, for as a queen, a wife, and a mother, there was not her equal in the world. The last instructions received and the leave-taking passed, amid the good wishes of all they left behind, and the most zealous devotion of those who had been selected to accompany them, about the commencement of February the prince and princess, with a gallant retinue, went on board the fleet,² of which the earl of Warwick was admiral, and four days subsequently arrived at Rochelle.

¹ FROISSART, who was in attendance upon queen Philippa, states that he was present at this meeting, and mentions a singular prophecy, relating to the Black Prince, he heard at this time from an ancient knight in discourse amongst the ladies.

² DUGDALE, vol. i. p. 233. WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 172.

CHAPTER V.

Reception of the Prince and Princess at Rochelle — Sir John Chandos — Their triumphant Progress to Bordeaux — Courteous Behaviour of the Prince — His Distribution of Offices of Profit unsatisfactory to some of his new Vassals — The Prince's Munificence — The Princess gives birth to a Son — Arrival of the King of Cyprus — His Efforts to obtain Assistance in a New Crusade — Grand Entertainment in honour of the Princess — Anticipations of War — The Quarrel of John de Montford and Charles of Blois — They appear before the Black Prince — Death of John, King of France — His Successor sends Bertrand du Guesclin to the Assistance of Charles of Blois — Sir John Chandos allowed to aid John de Montford — Decisive Victory gained by Sir John Chandos at Auray — Acknowledgment by King Charles of France of the Justice of John de Montford's Claim to the Duchy of Brittany — Duplicity of the King of France — Result of his Intrigues to gain over the Capital de Buch — State of the Principality — The Free Companions — Pedro the Cruel: his Tyrannical Conduct — The Count of Transtamare drives him out of the Kingdom, and usurps his Throne — He appeals for Assistance to the Prince of Aquitaine — Measures taken by the Prince — Don Pedro arrives at Bayonne — Is courteously entertained — The King of England determines to assist the dethroned King of Castile — Arrangements with the King of Navarre — The Prince's Liabilities for and Securities from Don Pedro — The Free Companions recalled — Visit of the King of Majorca — Birth of the Prince's second Son — The Prince of Aquitaine sets out with his Army for the Invasion of Spain.

THE reception the prince and princess of Aquitaine met with on their landing in France was so much to their satisfaction that they continued their stay at Rochelle for four days. All who were in the neighbourhood thronged to pay their respects to their new sovereign; and amongst them there came one to whom the prince was sure to give a most hearty welcome. This was his old tutor and brother-in-arms, Sir John Chandos, who had been appointed governor of Aquitaine by king Edward, since the treaty of Brittany. When he heard of the prince's arrival, he set out from his residence in the city of Niort in Poitou, and with a handsome retinue of knights and esquires rode to Rochelle, where he presently entertained the prince, the princess,

and their attendants, with such bountiful hospitality that all were charmed with his courtesy. Having thus testified his loyalty, he took his place with his people amongst the cortège which accompanied the hero and his fair partner, as they passed from city to city in their way to the seat of government. At the city of Poitiers there were extraordinary rejoicings; indeed the barons and knights of Poitou and Saintonge seemed striving to rival each other in doing honour to their new rulers: and in every considerable town throughout the whole of their journey to Bordeaux, which was to be the seat of government,¹ every possible degree of homage and fealty was shewn towards them. At Bordeaux, however, this was much more prominently the case. One sentiment towards their gallant ruler appeared to prevail amongst the people of the country of all classes. Froissart² says the earls, viscounts, barons, knights, and the gentlemen of Gascony, came thither to pay their respects to him, all of whom he received in so gracious and pleasing a manner that they were well pleased to have such a person set over them. The charm of his courteous behaviour not only operated very extensively in reconciling the Gascon nobles to him, but had the same success in reconciling some of the most turbulent to each other. In particular, there had been a fierce feud which had lasted a long time between the count de Foix and the count d'Armagnac, and on the occasion of their both at the same time coming to Bordeaux, to pay their compliments to their prince, he, after winning

¹ As the capital of the principality of Aquitaine, and the principal seat of the wine-trade, Bordeaux in the fourteenth century must have presented an animated picture, in which the commercial and chivalrous appeared with nearly equal prominence; but though this fine city may have lost some of the most picturesque features of that picturesque period, it now exhibits such a scene of busy industry and commercial greatness that the omission is scarcely to be deplored. Its countless tiers of shipping, magnificent quays, fine bridge, and handsome public buildings of every description, deserve the best attentions of the utilitarian. The antiquary will find no less satisfaction in contemplating the monuments, that still exist, of English occupation and dominion; whilst the fact that it is the source whence proceeds the delicious Châteaux Margaux, and other favourite French wines, will not fail to be a powerful recommendation to a large class of less "sober" travellers.

² FROISSART, chap. ccxvi.

their hearts by his noble bearing towards them, interfered in their quarrel with so much tact and good feeling that he succeeded in making them very excellent friends.

The policy which led him to use every exertion to make himself acceptable to the people he had been called upon to govern, was as admirable as that which dictated the appointment of Sir John Chandos as constable of Guienne, and Sir Guiscard d'Angle, knight of Poitou, not long since a violent partisan of France, marshal of his army. "The prince," says Froissart, "thus provided for the knights of his own country and his household, but he did not neglect the most deserving of his new subjects. The noble offices which were at his disposal in the principality of Aquitaine were pretty fairly distributed amongst Gascons and English, where such impartiality was admirable. He nominated to all his stewartries and bailiwicks knights from England, who kept up greater state and magnificence than the inhabitants of the country could have wished: but things," adds the chronicler, "did not go according to their desires." The Gascons, a people proverbial for their exorbitant appreciation of themselves, were not easily to be satisfied, notwithstanding the prince made numerous attempts to make them so. They looked with great jealousy upon any effort to deprive them of whatever they chose to covet, and the valuable slices of preferment they obtained only served to sharpen their desire to obtain the whole. However, they were so graciously treated by the prince, that they thought it best for the present, at least, to smother their dissatisfaction.

The munificence which had so greatly distinguished the prince of Wales became even still more prominent when he obtained a wider field for its exhibition and increased resources; and such a quality could not fail of having its due effect on the good people of Aquitaine. His establishment was on a magnificent scale, and he was continually entertaining the lords and gentlemen of the principality, and such distinguished personages from other countries who paid him a visit, with gor-

geous spectacles, grand tournaments, stately hunting-parties, and princely banquets. His lovely partner was not less eminent for the grandeur with which she contrived to invest her portion of the court, and manifested a proper desire to make herself agreeable to the female aristocracy of her lord's dominions. Consequently, in all the festivities that were going on, they were sure to be a feature no less prominent than attractive. The prince and princess did not remain entirely at Bordeaux. They went on a progress to several of the most considerable cities in the prince's government, staying some time in each; and wherever they remained they gathered round them a gallant assemblage of nobles and knights for whose entertainment the most costly preparations were made.

It was while at Angoulême,¹ at the end of the month of February 1364, the delighted prince was issuing his orders for a splendid tournament of forty knights, and as many squires, in honour of the princess, she having been safely delivered of a son, who, a short time afterwards, received with great ceremony the Christian name of his father, that he obtained intelligence of the arrival at Poitiers of the king of Cyprus and of his intention to pay him a visit. This monarch had just come from the kings of England and France, with

¹ Angoulême still presents many features of great interest to the historical scholar, and affords many charming views which justify the favour with which the Black Prince regarded it. But the celebrated Abbé de la Couronne, one of the most magnificent monastic establishments of the middle ages, after escaping the dangers of bigotry, anarchy, and time, was, a little more than thirty years ago, destroyed, and the materials sold. "Its interior measurement," says a recent tourist, "was 202 French feet by 89 broad; and the cloisters, which have entirely perished, were on a scale proportionable to the noble dimensions of the church. One fine window at the east end, part of a highly ornamented portal arch at the west front, and part of the rose window above it, the wall of an entire side, still remain. Immense masses of pillars, which have been hurled from the proud height where the vaults of the light roof reposed upon them, lie strewn upon the ground within the nave, still so firmly cemented together, as to give the Vandals, who seek, amid the ruins of the mighty fabric thus fallen from its high estate, the materials of their own mean constructions, almost as much labour to appropriate the stone, so cunningly put together by the architects of the thirteenth century, as to cut it from the quarry."—TROLLOPE'S *Summer in Western France*, vol. ii. p. 274.

whom he had made a short stay, with the object of persuading them to join him in a crusade against the Saracens; but, whilst with the French king he stated that he considered he should have done or seen little of moment, until he had seen the prince of Wales, adding, that by the grace of God he would go and visit him and the lords of Poitou and of Aquitaine.¹ The prince immediately despatched Sir John Chandos, attended by a noble retinue of the knights and squires of his household, to meet the king at Poitiers, and honourably conduct him to Angoulême. Here he received a cordial welcome from the prince of Aquitaine, who with his accustomed courtesy shewed him the most flattering attentions, in which he was joined by all the nobles and knights of his court, both Gascon and English, and after a long course of feasting and amusements in this city, under the guidance of the noble Chandos, his majesty was allowed to proceed on a tour of inspection to such places in the principality as were most worthy of observation, where, in consequence of directions from their sovereign, he was most sumptuously entertained by their several governors. He returned to the prince in time to be a spectator of the magnificent ceremonies given in honour of the princess, —now sufficiently recovered to grace them with her presence,—and received from her attentions no less gratifying than those he had so recently received from her lord.

The pomp which distinguished the brilliant scene then acted before him, the magnificent apparel and rare beauty of the ladies in the gallery, the splendour of the arms and accoutrements of the knights, the costly robes of the nobles and the imposing array of the men-at-arms, made a powerful impression upon him; but when he beheld how gallantly the combatants behaved themselves, he could not forbear expressing a wish to have such associates in the adventure he had so much at heart.²

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxviii.

² BARNES, p. 636.

"Then the prince and the knights answered him kindly and said, 'How truly it was an expedition well worthy the consideration of all men of honour, and that by the grace of God, when once the matter was entered upon, and the passage laid open, he should not be alone; but should find among them those that would be glad at any rate, together with religion, to advance their honours.'"¹

The king of Cyprus shortly afterwards took his leave of his bounteous entertainers, but not before they had enriched him with many valuable evidences of their generosity and good-will; and Sir John Chandos attended upon him to the bounds of the principality. Whatever inclination the prince might have had to assist his guest in the Holy Land, he was too well aware how much his presence was wanted at this critical period in his government to think of leaving it. Even if a crusade amongst the infidels held out any inducement to a statesman who had been taught by so shrewd a politician as Edward the Third, he had learned sufficient of the difficulties of his position to look upon such an enterprise as being, under existing circumstances, unworthy of a moment's consideration. Independently of his insecure tenure of the allegiance of the most influential lords of Aquitaine, recent movements in France and in other neighbouring states made him think a war not very far distant. Indeed, hostilities were raging close to his dominions, and although these were on a small scale, they wanted but little encouragement in a sufficient quarter to raise

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 174, states that several barons both of England and Gascony were induced to aid the king of Cyprus; and having letters of safe conduct, left Aquitaine with a force of upwards of 300 select horse besides archers.

² Among the visitors at the court of the prince of Aquitaine about this time was the chronicler Froissart, whose account of the many important transactions that took place in the principality and in the neighbouring countries immediately following his visit, is singularly copious and graphic. There seems, however, indications here and there that the prince did not care, or could not find time to treat him with such distinction as he expected, and that he did not meet in the princess with quite so gratified a listener to his love-ditties as he had had in the amiable queen Philippa of Hainault; for, in some passages of his *Chronicles* from about this date, the Black Prince is less handsomely spoken of than many knights of less fame, who had been more attentive to him.

them to such importance as would make his interference necessary. By the terms of the treaty of Brittany, neither the kings of France, the king of England, nor the prince of Aquitaine, could personally assist in the quarrels which might break out between partisans of these different sovereigns; and it was expressly stated, that if the mediation of the kings of England and France did not succeed in bringing to a satisfactory termination the differences of John de Montford, who had been a ward of the king of England, and who claimed the dukedom of Brittany held by his father, in which he had been opposed by Charles of Blois, in a fierce and sanguinary warfare, they should be allowed to settle them in their own way, and that assistance might be rendered either claimant by the knights of Aquitaine and of France, without hinderance from the sovereigns of either country, or without their being considered to be at war with each other. When the two kings were at Calais, they endeavoured to arrange the dispute, but without success,¹ and the prince of Aquitaine, hoping to be more fortunate, offered to act as mediator between them. This seems to have been agreed to by the contending parties, for both made their appearance before the prince at Poitiers in the month of February of this year, bringing with them the hostages each had received from the other as security for the performance of certain engagements they had some time since mutually entered into. The proceedings began by John de Montford stating before the prince and his assembled councillors the particulars of his claim, and the arrangement to which he had been a party; and after expressing his readiness to fulfil his part of the conditions, called upon his adversary to join him in completing them. But this Charles of Blois had no intention of doing. He refused all discussion, and with a haughtiness only exceeded by his want of principle, sullenly declared he did not come there

¹ The account given by Froissart, chap. cexiii. of this negotiation, and of the motives which led to its being left unsettled, seems very improbable.

to give his adversary any satisfaction on the subject of their dispute.¹ De Montford then called the prince and all the assembly to witness that he was free from blame in these proceedings, and demanded a written testimony of his adversary's unworthy conduct. Finding Charles of Blois inaccessible to reason, the prince granted this request, and after the hostages had been liberated (with the exception of Bertrand du Guesclin, whom de Montford thought advisable to detain), the conference ended, and the rival claimants lost no time in making preparations for renewing the contest for the disputed duchy, which had already cost so much blood and treasure. They were not long before they obtained assistance, and the death of John, king of France, in April, with a successor to the throne in Charles, an active friend of the least worthy of the rivals, procured immediately for him 1000 spears, with a command to du Guesclin, who had contrived to make his escape, to hasten into Brittany at the sight of his letters with what force he could muster to his aid. Intelligence of this interference induced de Montford to apply to the Black Prince, who allowed Sir John Chandos to take with him a force of about 200 spears and as many archers, who joined de Montford before Auray, to which he was then laying siege. He had with him many gallant adventurers, Englishmen and Gascons; and others crossed the sea from England, desirous of serving under so fortunate a commander as the noble Chandos.

To raise the siege of Auray, the lord Charles approached with an army very much superior in numbers to that of his adversary; a very fiercely and well-contested battle ensued, but Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whatever fame he subsequently acquired, proved himself no match for Sir John Chandos. The army he commanded was totally defeated with great slaughter: Charles of Blois, with many of his principal friends being amongst the slain, and du Guesclin,

¹ JAMES, vol. ii. p. 248. LOBINAU, p. 362. *Preuve de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 504. Several documents illustrative of this quarrel will be found in the *Fœdera* for the years 1362 to 1364.

and a long list of nobles and knights, amongst the prisoners. This action was so decisive that Sir John Chandos soon placed the whole of Brittany at the disposal of John de Montford, and forced the king of France to acknowledge him as its rightful duke in the following year. Charles le Sage, however, with characteristic duplicity, delayed the ratification of the treaty by which he promised to allow him undisputed possession of the lands he had conquered, hoping by procrastination to gain some important advantage; but the young duke had been taught prudence in the school of Edward the Third, and entered into an alliance with the prince of Aquitaine, who bound himself to see that the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled; and the knowledge of this alliance soon put an end to the king's hesitation. Nevertheless, though he stood in wholesome fear of the influence of the Black Prince, he seized every opportunity of endeavouring to detach from his service the most distinguished of his adherents. On the celebrated Captal de Buch, whilst in his power as a prisoner, he lavished the most flattering and costly favours; on consideration, as he chose to allege, of his exertions in bringing about a peace between him and the king of Navarre. He forgave him his ransom, and then presented him with the castle of Nemours,¹ worth more than 3000 francs per annum, for which, he unsuspectingly did homage as holding such lands of him his superior lord. On his return to Aquitaine, the prince, who had full information of what had transpired, took the Captal rather sharply to task, telling him that he could not acquit himself loyally to two superiors whose interests must be so completely opposite, and accused him of being covetous in accepting lands in France where he was neither honoured nor beloved. These reproaches, from a source which he regarded with a respect amounting to devotion, made him ashamed of what he had done; and when his eyes had been opened to the motives which had induced the French king's

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxxix. BARNES, p. 664, says, "Damerarie in Brie."

liberality, he was eager to get out of the trap into which he had been led. This completely reconciled him to the prince, and the Captal lost no time in sending an esquire of his to king Charles to renounce his allegiance and to return the lands that had been bestowed upon him, as he had no intention of dividing the service he owed entirely to the prince of Aquitaine. He then took up his residence at Bordeaux, and proved himself one of the most faithful, as he was one of the ablest and most powerful, of the prince's vassals.

There were many who owed Edward of Woodstock allegiance, on whom the intrigues of "Charles the Wise," as he was styled ("Charles the Crafty" being a much more applicable name), were likely to have a very different effect. These were exceedingly averse to the arrangement that transferred their country from France to England; some would not acknowledge the sovereignty till they had been compelled, and the count de Foix did not submit to do homage to the prince for the county of Bearn till the present year.¹ The prince, by the skilful exercise of his authority and the judicious display of his munificence, managed to keep even the most intractable of his subjects in tolerable order. There certainly was a great deal of discontent at the partiality alleged to have been shewn to the English knights, and there was as little satisfaction with regard to the force of English men-at-arms and archers retained in the country. The Gascon malcontents considered they were quite sufficient for the defence of the principality, but their liege lord was of a very different opinion. Discontent made itself manifest occasionally, but this did not interrupt the course of order and good government which prevailed throughout Aquitaine, which was the more remarkable, as in France, Charles, with all his wisdom, could scarcely maintain his authority in any province of his dominions. A gang of desperadoes styling themselves the Free Companions had of late years been increasing to an immense extent, and the

¹ RYMER, tom. iii. part ii. p. 103.

termination of the wars in Brittany and Normandy had thrown many a gallant adventurer out of employment. Some of the most famous of these were Englishmen, who preferred a life of plunder and free quarters in the fairest provinces of the king of France, to returning to their homes to live in poverty and idleness; and this preference they shared in common with their comrades of other countries. They kept together in formidable bands, taking castles, sacking cities, and ravaging the open country; their united force in France amounting to between 50,000 and 60,000 men, to which Charles found he could oppose to advantage neither diplomacy nor force.

It was about this time that circumstances occurred in a neighbouring kingdom which ultimately relieved France of these terrible visitors. Pedro, king of Castile and Leon, though possessed of some mental and personal qualities likely to win admiration where his character was unknown, joined to them a disposition only to be rivalled by that of a Nero or Caligula. In his government as well as in his social relations, he appears to have set at defiance all sense of obligation, justice, and humanity; and the ferocity with which he punished those who excited his rage, obtained for him the title of Pedro the Cruel. He outraged decency and religion; and his father's natural son, Henry, count of Transtamare, in endeavouring to bring him to alter his infamous conduct, was so fiercely pursued by the despot, that his only hope of security seemed to lie in an appeal to arms. He raised an army, but was defeated by his brother, and the overthrow of his power was so complete that he was forced to fly to France, where he served and formed an acquaintance with the celebrated military adventurers in the service of the French king. He seems in character to have been scarcely, if at all, superior to Don Pedro, being ambitious, unprincipled, crafty, and revengeful; and having entertained a project of dispossessing his brother of his dominions, he only waited an opportunity for putting it into operation. Every day seemed to bring the favourable time nearer, for the king of Castile

continued, by his cruelty and capacity, to make enemies in every direction. He despoiled the lands of the king of Arragon, in consequence of that monarch having excited his wrath by giving shelter to certain persons who had by timely flight avoided the death he had prepared for them; he tyrannised in the most revolting manner over his nobles, and he insulted the church. He had arrayed against him, by his follies and his crimes, every power in the state, which, though submitting to his despotism, was ready to throw it off on a sufficient occasion presenting itself. The priests fostered this inclination by every means in their power, and the pope summoned the royal offender to appear at Avignon to answer certain charges, which, having treated with studied indignity, sentence of excommunication was fulminated against him at the papal court, he was declared unfit to govern; and a general insurrection throughout his dominions, and an invasion with a powerful army, commanded by the king of Arragon and the count of Transtamare, now legitimated by the pope, burst upon him at once. The army of his brother, who was recognised by the king of France as well as by the papal court, as a lawful claimant of the throne of Castile, was composed almost entirely of those free companies, whose presence in France had been so irksome to Charles the Wise. At the head of them was Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, for whose ransom Henry of Transtamare, the king of France, and the pope, agreed to pay Sir John Chandos, whose prisoner he had been since the battle of Auray, the sum of 100,000 francs, which was considered an enormous estimate for one who, but a few years before, was an obscure squire in the retinue of Charles of Blois. Nevertheless, it appeared to be money well laid out, for at the beginning of the year 1366 du Guesclin, with his brother adventurers, had entered Spain; and they came in such numbers, that Don Pedro, after a vain attempt to get together a respectable force for his defence, fled precipitately, carrying his treasures, and accompanied by a few friends, to Galicia—this province and a portion of Leon, being

the only places in his dominions where he could be considered in safety.¹

A treaty of alliance with England was in existence, and Don Pedro considered that, if this alone was not sufficient to insure him sympathy and support from that power, his connexion by marriage with Edward the Third could scarcely fail of being thought by so excellent a monarch an adequate appeal for active interference in his favour. The opposition of France seemed also to be a powerful claim, but he knew very well that the only ostensible ground that would be acknowledged in taking up his quarrel, existed in the fact, that he, the lawful sovereign of Castile, had been dispossessed of his dominions by an illegitimate branch of his family. The counsellors, with whom Don Pedro had fled, persuaded him to beg the assistance of the king of England as the only sovereign from whom important assistance was likely to be obtained; and, on discovering that this monarch had exhibited a decided inclination towards him, and a disposition to uphold their treaty of alliance by issuing commands² to such of the leaders of the free companions, who were his subjects, on no pretext, to join the invaders of the Spanish territory, but wherever his commands might reach them to halt in their march and return instantly to England or Aquitaine, he was urgently advised to appeal to the English monarch for assistance. As time pressed and his position appeared to grow daily more insecure, he determined on making his appeal to the prince of Aquitaine, with whose fame all Spain was familiar, and of journeying to Bordeaux, if it was thought necessary, to advance the negotiations for obtaining the aid he required. Agreeably with this resolution, a letter was despatched by Don Pedro to the prince, relating the circumstances that had befallen him, and urgently imploring his advice and assistance. The prince was at the monastery of St. Andrew when the messengers of the dethroned king of Spain, consisting of a knight and two esquires, arrived at Bordeaux.

¹ BARNES, p. 677.

² RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 103.

They shortly obtained an audience, and after having cast themselves on their knees, they saluted him according to their custom, recommending the king their lord to him, as they presented him his letter.¹ The prince made himself master of its contents; but there is good reason for believing that the intelligence it conveyed was not new to him, and that he was not altogether unprepared for the appeal it contained. When he had read the letter he courteously dismissed the ambassadors, leaving them to be entertained by the officers of his court, saying, "You are welcome to us from our cousin the king of Castile; you will stay here in our court, and will not return without an answer." Soon after they had been dismissed he sent for the two principal members of his council, Sir John Chandos, the constable, and Sir William Felton, the high steward of Aquitaine, and on their entrance said, with a smile, "My lords, here is great news from Spain. The king, Don Pedro, our cousin, complains grievously of Henry, his bastard brother, who has seized his kingdom, and driven him out of it, as perhaps you may have heard related by those who are come hither. He entreats of us help and assistance, as his letter will more fully explain to you."² The prince then read the king's letter aloud, to which they listened very attentively, and on its conclusion, demanded their opinion as to how he ought to act. They advised that a sufficient escort should be immediately despatched to bring the king from Corunna to Bordeaux, that an opportunity should be given him for making known his intentions and the extent of the aid he might require. This advice the prince thought so judicious that he gave immediate orders it should be followed, and an armament of twelve ships, with a respectable force, under the command of Sir William Felton, was got ready with all possible despatch; but just as it was on the point of sailing from Bayonne, Don Pedro arrived at that port. He, not thinking himself secure from his brother's vengeance

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxxx.

² *IBID.*

in the castle of Corunna, had taken ship with considerable treasures, and a few attendants, to find more secure quarters in the dominions of the Black Prince. Sending immediate information to his lord, Sir William Felton waited on the king; and after informing him of what had been the prince's intentions, accompanied him with every mark of respect on the road to Bordeaux. Within a short distance of the city they were met by the prince with a gallant retinue, who, to do honour to his visitor, had rode from Bordeaux to meet him on his journey. The courtesy for which the victor of Cressy and Poitiers had made himself so famous, was here displayed towards the fallen monarch with, if possible, a more graceful amiability than he had shewn on any previous occasion. He insisted on the king riding on his right hand, surrounded him with every sign of respect, consoled him for his misfortunes, and comforted him with the hope of regaining his lost honours. In this manner they rode to the monastery of St. Andrew, where a handsome suite of apartments had been prepared for Don Pedro; and after the king had retired and robed himself as became his rank, he was presented to the princess and the principal ladies of her court; all of whom appeared desirous of doing him honour. All kinds of princely entertainments followed; and every thing seemed to prove to the king of Castile that he had fallen amongst friends, whose inclination to serve him kept pace with their ability.

This friendly disposition of Edward of Woodstock towards his visitor was not shared by all his council; some of whom set forth his misconduct in the most forbidding colours, and advised their prince not to think of extending his conquests, in the words of an old proverb, which, as lord Berners gives it, is "He that too moche embraseth, houldeth the wekelyer." To this he is reported to have answered, "My lords, I take it for granted, and believe that you give me the best advice you are able. I must, however, inform you, that I am perfectly well acquainted with the conduct of Don Pedro, and well know that he has committed faults without number, for which at present

he suffers ; but I will tell you the reasons which, at this moment, urge and embolden me to give him assistance : I do not think it either decent or proper that a bastard should possess a kingdom as an inheritance, nor drive out of his realm his own brother, heir to the country by lawful marriage ; and no king, or king's son, ought ever to suffer it, as being of the greatest prejudice to royalty. Add to this, that my lord and father and this Don Pedro have for a long time been allies, much connected together, by which we are bounden to aid and assist him in case he should require it."

These reasons may probably appear to the readers of the present day not quite so unanswerable as they were regarded by the personage who acknowledged himself influenced by them ; but it should be remembered that legitimacy and the influence of treaties were likely to be looked upon by such a sovereign as Edward the Third as of the most vital importance. As for the pope's interference, either in the pretended legitimating of count Transtamare, or in disposing of the kingdom of Castile from its lawful monarch, Edward and his son were not likely to pay it much respect. The pontifical thunders, once so terrible in their results, were now, amongst the stronger European powers, regarded as capable of no greater harm than the artificial tempest of the theatre.

The truly chivalrous character of the Black Prince saw only in Don Pedro a fugitive monarch unjustly deprived of his kingdom, and as in his distress he had thought proper to appeal to him, this was not a season in which he could take cognisance of such ill conduct as had been laid to his charge. Probably policy had something to do with his decision as well as chivalry ; for there were many sound reasons for giving warlike employment out of the principality to some of his discontented and intriguing nobles. But that he might not be said to have acted unadvisedly, he called together at Bordeaux all the counts, viscounts, barons, and gentlemen of influence in Saintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limousin, Gascony, and Aquit-

taine; and every person of note attended the summons except the earl of Foix, who was excused in consequence of having a disorder in his legs, which prevented his getting on horseback. These formed a parliament, whose business was to consider the situation of the dethroned king and the propriety of endeavouring to restore him to his kingdom. All this time Don Pedro was not idle—sometimes appealing to the compassion of those whose assistance he was desirous of obtaining, and more frequently, and often with more effect, to their avarice. To the prince he made numerous magnificent promises, and amongst others, that of making his young son Edward king of Galicia; whilst his principal knights were tempted with a promise of having divided amongst them the immense riches he had left in Castile, where he stated they were so well concealed no one could discover them but himself.

The prince of Aquitaine addressed his parliament in behalf of Don Pedro, who sat in a distinguished place near him, giving an account of his affairs and of the reasons which most readily presented themselves, for obtaining for him the restoration of his kingdom. On this subject they debated for three days, and it was finally resolved that the assembly should defer coming to a determination till they had ascertained the sentiments of the king of England, to whom ambassadors were immediately sent. The fugitive king continued to be sumptuously entertained by the prince and princess, and did not cease his endeavours to obtain friends amongst the principal nobles and knights of their court, till the return of the ambassadors, when the parliament was again assembled, to whom the letters from the king of England were publicly read. He expressed his opinion that the prince his son, in the names of God and of St. George, should undertake the restoration of Don Pedro to his inheritance, from which it appeared he had been unjustly and fraudulently driven; and the king also stated that he considered himself obliged, agreeably to certain treaties into which he had entered some time since with his cousin Don Pedro, to grant him all the help he could

if he should be required to do so, and he, therefore, ordered all his vassals, and entreated his friends, to assist the prince of Wales to the full extent of their ability in this affair, in the same manner as if he undertook the business himself. This communication made a decided impression on the assembly; and if there were any there still undetermined by Don Pedro's golden arguments, they now speedily came to a decision; but there was one important point which did not seem to them so securely ascertained as they desired,—this was from whom they were to receive their wages for military service. The prince referred them to Don Pedro, saying it behoved him to give them an answer who was about to lead them into action; and the king exclaimed, “My dear cousin, as long as my gold, my silver, and my treasure, will last, which I have brought with me from Spain, but which is not so great by thirty times as what I have left behind, I am willing it should be divided among your people.” On hearing this, the prince is stated to have said, “My lord, you speak well; and for the surplus of the debt I will take that upon myself towards them, and will order whatever sums you may want to be advanced you as a loan, until we shall be arrived in Castile.” “By my head,” replied Don Pedro, “you will do me a great kindness.”¹

In this parliament there were several experienced commanders, such as Sir John Chandos, the Captal de Buch, the earl of Armagnac, and the lord de Pommiers, who well understood the difficulties that lay in the way of a march into Spain and the best means of overcoming them; and as the army must enter that country through the pass of Roncesvalles,² they advised the prince to endeavour to obtain the good-will of the king of Navarre, through whose kingdom they must march; intimating that, although the king of Navarre had lately entered into an alliance with the usurper, he

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxxii.

² This place, so celebrated in romance as the scene of the defeat of Charlemagne and the deaths of Orlando and Rinaldo, is situated on the confines of Navarre.

was not inaccessible to arguments for an alliance more to his interest. Agreeably with this advice, the parliament was prorogued, to meet again at Bayonne, and Sir John Chandos and Sir William Felton were sent as ambassadors to the king of Navarre to entreat him to join it. These sagacious counsellors so well put before that monarch the object of their embassy, he was induced to give under his seal a promise that he would not fail in his attendance at the proposed conference. This promise he fulfilled, and the prince and Don Pedro so completely satisfied his expectations—though he took every possible advantage of his position to exact the most extravagant demands—that, after a conference of five days in full parliament, he was induced to swear to and seal a treaty of peace,¹ alliance, and confederation with Don Pedro, who, in return, entered into engagements proposed by the prince, to give under his seal to the king of Navarre and his heirs, to hold as their inheritance, all the domain of Logrono, with the lands on each side of the river, and also the town, castle, territory, and dependencies of Salvatierra, with the town of St. John Pied du Port, and its surrounding country, which possessions he had in former times unjustly made himself master of by force. Besides this, he was to receive a considerable sum,² for allowing Don Pedro's allies to

¹ There are several treaties in Rymer relating to these transactions, particularly one in which Don Pedro acknowledges himself debtor to the Black Prince in the sum of 56,000 florins of Florence, of good gold and of lawful weight, &c., which the prince, by Don Pedro's direction, had paid to the king of Navarre. This is dated Libourne (a city on the Dordogne, ten leagues from Bordeaux), Sept. 23, 1366; and of the same date and place are articles of convention between the three contracting parties named in the text (*Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 115); and a very extraordinary convention it is.

² Froissart, chap. ccxxii. There is some confusion in the sums mentioned as having been paid, or agreed to be paid, in these engagements. Froissart says 20,000 francs: and the treaty preserved in Rymer states that the king of Navarre received 56,000 florins. Mr. JAMES (vol. ii. p. 285), besides the latter sum, affirms that he exacted the enormous bribe of "200,000 florins;" but surely the "*Docientas veez mil florenes*" in the convention, which he thus translates, is the amount for which the prince of Wales was security for the expenses of his army: this, however, in Selden's *Titles of Honour* and in Barnes, is estimated at 550,000 florins. The original authority being a confused jumble of French,

march through Navarre, and for procuring them provisions and forage at a reasonable price, which was paid him by the prince of Aquitaine. This sum, however, made but a small portion of the prince's liabilities for the king of Castile, for he found himself obliged to enter into a bond, by some authorities stated at more than half a million of gold florins, for the payment of the wages of his barons and knights and the forces they engaged to bring to his assistance. For this all his security was his confidence in the honour of his debtor; the king's daughters left as pledges;¹ a few jewels, among which is said to have been a costly table, richly set with precious stones;² a grant of the castles of Vermejo, Lequitio, and Bilbao, and all the territories comprised in the province of Biscay, and also the castle of Urdiales,³ and the privileges mentioned in a document⁴ given under the hand and seal of the king, wherein, after acknowledging the services received from the prince, it states that the kings of England, or their eldest sons, when in the field with the king of Castile, shall have the banner of their arms borne in the first battalion; the banner to be set up in the same honourable place, even if the king and prince should be absent; and that all subjects of the king of England and prince of Wales shall be allowed passage through Don Pedro's dominions free of taxes, unless they bring merchandise, which is to be taxed in the proportion other merchants are accustomed to pay.⁵

Such security would not, even in his age, have satisfied any one but the Black Prince; and the extraordinary privilege conferred on him would not be thought particularly desirable at the present day; but it seems to have been regarded by Edward with great

Spanish, and Latin, the exact meaning is not always with certainty to be obtained.

¹ HOLINSHED, *Engl. Chron.* p. 973.

² GODWIN'S *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 27.

³ RYMER'S *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 120.

⁴ Preserved in SELDEN'S *Titles of Honour*.

⁵ This privilege and the grant of lands to the prince possess the same date as the convention.

interest. The charter was sealed in the presence of his brother John of Gaunt—who had recently been sent over to him by his father, with a considerable force, to join in the approaching campaign—the archbishop of Bordeaux, and the bishop of Saintonge, the bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor of Aquitaine, the noble Chandos, constable, Sir William Felton, seneschal, Sir Nele Loring, the prince's chamberlain, and many other distinguished witnesses; and subsequently the king confirmed the important document with an oath, solemnly and publicly taken before the high altar in the church of Bordeaux.

These arrangements having been completed, the prince made preparations for raising the requisite armament, and providing stores and necessaries. He looked for considerable assistance from the free companions, who were still with the usurper in Spain, and all such as owed allegiance either to himself or to his father were commanded to join him in Aquitaine. Many were as ready to do this from good-will as from duty, and in large bands they immediately commenced their homeward march, after hearing some most tempting offers from Sir John Chandos—whom the prince had despatched to negotiate with them—persuasions and force were equally unavailing to stop them from taking service under a leader so popular amongst them as the Black Prince. The passes out of Spain were attempted to be closed against them; equally through the influence of their late employer, the king of Aragon would not allow them to pass through his dominions; the king of France was still more hostile, and wherever they were likely to make their appearance, powerful armies were placed to intercept their march. But they managed to triumph over every obstacle, and after having given the French king's general, with a superior force, a signal overthrow for attempting to molest them,¹ they joined their favourite

¹ This battle took place at Montauban, a town under the jurisdiction of the prince of Aquitaine. The French were in great force under the command of the seneschals of Toulouse, Carcassone, and Beaucaire, and the viscount de Narbonne (*Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 382), who threat-

commander at Bordeaux to the number of about 11,000.

Inquiries were also set on foot to learn the extent of the assistance likely to be rendered by the nobles of the principality. On his personally asking the lord d'Albret what number of men-at-arms he could furnish, this nobleman is stated to have answered a thousand, still leaving sufficient to defend his lands; which made the prince exclaim to the English knights around him, "By my faith, a man ought to set a value on that land where there are such barons as can serve their lord with a thousand spears a-piece." He offered to retain the whole in his service for the proposed expedition, which was immediately accepted. But his faithful counsellors perceived, in engaging such numerous bands of adventurers who desired to serve under him, he was likely to exhaust his resources before they could be rendered available for the war, if some important pecuniary aid was not speedily procured; they induced him to melt two-thirds of his plate and coin it into money, and to request of his father the 100,000 francs the French king was about to pay in part of his ransom, which king Edward caused to be delivered to him. This assistance, however, would still have fallen very far short of what was required, had he persisted in engaging all he had designed to take with him. It was found absolutely necessary to make a considerable reduction in their numbers, and amongst others it was notified to the lord d'Albret that it was impossible for the prince to allow of his serving in the expedition with more than 200 lances.¹ The Gascon took this diminution of his followers in very ill part, and had the presumption to write to his lord to the effect that he must retain all his thousand lances, or must not count upon seeing any. This insult inflamed the anger of the Black Prince, and he is stated to have said, "This lord d'Albret is too great a man for my

ened to annihilate the companions if they ventured to march out of the town. Froissart gives an animated description of the contest.

¹ The substance of the letter sent by Edward of Woodstock to the lord d'Albret may be found in FROISSART, chap. ccxxxv.

country, when he thus wishes to disobey the orders of my council ; but by God it shall not be as he thinks to have it ; let him stay behind if he will, for we will perform this expedition, if it please God, without his thousand lances."

This misunderstanding might have been attended with serious consequences had not the earl of Armagnac, the uncle of the lord d'Albret, hurried to Bordeaux to excuse his kinsman, and his sage counsellors Chandos and Felton pacified their indignant prince. The lord d'Albret was persuaded to fulfil his lord's commands, but his self-love had been wounded by this lessening of his consequence, and he was ever afterwards the most discontented and turbulent of his vassals.

Among the visitors at Bordeaux at this stirring time was the king of Majorca, who had been dispossessed of his kingdom by the king of Arragon. He, like Don Pedro, sought the prince of Aquitaine as an acknowledged redresser of wrongs, but unlike the king of Castile, he came perfectly impoverished ; nevertheless, after hearing his story, the prince promised to replace him on his throne on his return from Spain, either by treaty or force of arms, and after treating him with his customary courtesy, equipped him handsomely, as it is said, because he was a stranger far distant from his own country, with an empty exchequer. His preparations were being carried on with unwearied diligence, and immense stores had been collected for the use of his army. His speedy departure now became exceedingly desirable, the expense of keeping such a host being enormous, and the free companies causing great dissatisfaction in consequence of their want of discipline, and the inability of their commanders to check their habits of making free with whatever they took a fancy to. The prince waited but for one event, which seemed so near that, under the circumstance, he could not avoid staying for it ; his patience was shortly rewarded, by its occurring as satisfactorily as he could have wished. This event was the birth of his second son Richard, who was born in

the morning of twelfth day of the new year; two days afterwards he was baptised with a ceremonial of more than ordinary grandeur and solemnity; and on the ensuing Sunday, after a tender leave of his affectionate partner, Edward of Woodstock set out from Bordeaux with a splendid cavalcade — a considerable portion of his army having preceded him in their march upon the Spanish territory — leaving that approved soldier the lord James Audley, high seneschal during his absence, to watch over and protect the principality, the princess, and his sons.

CHAPTER VI.

The Black Prince unfavourably influenced—He arrives at Dax—Further Negotiations with the King of Navarre—Passage of the Pyrenees—Behaviour of the Free Companies in the Valley of Pampeluna—Preparations of the Usurper to maintain his Possession of Castile—The King of Navarre attempts to change sides once more—Sir William Felton in search of Adventures—Pedro the Cruel enters his Dominions—His Revenge upon his Revolted Subjects denied him—Meeting of the Prince and Sir William Felton at Vittoria—Approach of the Enemy—Creation of Knights—Sir Bertrand du Guesclin joins Count Henry of Transtamare with considerable Reinforcements—The English Camp Surprised—The Spaniards gain an Inglorious Victory—Felton's Heroic Conduct—The Prince is obliged to fall back—Sends a Reply to the Letter addressed to him by Don Henry—The Opposing Armies approach each other—Their Appearance and Strength—Sir John Chandos raised to the dignity of a Banneret—Battle of Najara—Henry of Transtamare overthrown—Sir Bertrand du Guesclin a Prisoner—Behaviour of the Prince on the Field—He entertains Don Pedro and his principal Commanders after the Victory—Obtains the King's Pardon for the Prisoners—His Stay at Burgos—The King of Castile's Unprincipled Conduct—The Free Companies in Spain—The Prince removes his Army to Valladolid—He is attacked by Disease—Melancholy State of his Affairs—Retreat of the Prince's Army—Negotiations to obtain an undisputed Passage through the Passes of the Pyrenees—Return of the Prince and his Army to Bordeaux.

IN the expedition in which the Black Prince was now embarked, there were features likely to have made him regard it with peculiar interest. In the first place, his former commands were for conquest only; and although very little control appears to have been exerted over him, he was acting merely as his father's general: but the present war recommended itself to his chivalrous disposition, as one undertaken to support a lawful king against an usurper, and he was engaged in it as an independent sovereign, with a very powerful armament, employed and directed by himself. There is good reason for believing that the ardour with which he embarked on this grand enterprise made him blind to many things likely to affect its prosperity; the prospect of the great glory to be achieved seems at this time to have dazzled his vision,

and caused him to be more indifferent to his own interests, and the welfare of his principality of Aquitaine, than was prudent or judicious.

He marched out of Bordeaux at the head of a select body of his forces, in excellent health and high spirits, and upon arriving at Dax, upon the Adour, he had the gratification of meeting his brother, the duke of Lancaster, with reinforcements from England.¹ Here, also, one of the most independent of his nobles, the earl de Foix, paid him a visit, offering, with a fair display of devotion, to enter his service with his vassals, which pleased his prince, and occasioned his being entertained by him with those princely courtesies he knew so well how to exhibit. Nevertheless, from reasons, partly derived from the earl's ill health, and in some measure from the necessity he had been in to reduce his force, Edward excused himself from accepting the earl's aid, but made him perfectly satisfied by conferring on him a command in his own country during his absence.

The stay of the prince at Dax was rendered longer than it otherwise would have been, in consequence of certain rumours which had reached him that, notwithstanding the treaty and the oath by which the king of Navarre was bound, he was disposed to close the passes of his country against the invading army, the usurper having made such a proceeding more to his interest. A powerful body of the free companies, under the command of Sir Hugh Calverly, influenced by the evidence of treachery presented to them, began to make their way through Navarre in so decisive a fashion that the king became alarmed, and was induced to negotiate further with the prince of Aquitaine and his council, to secure the advantages he had been promised, and to obtain others if possible. After some conferences between him and the duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos—for the prince, at first, was not inclined to meet the king in person, from some suspicions he entertained of his good faith—a conference was arranged

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxxxvii.

to take place in the neighbourhood of Dax, between the prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, and Don Pedro, on the one part, and the king of Navarre on the other, and the treaty previously made was renewed, and the oath previously taken repeated. The king expressed himself satisfied; and, after breaking up the meeting, the army was allowed to pursue its march.

The defiles between St. Jean Pied de Port and Pampeluna are represented, by Froissart, as of such a character that a handful of men would make good their defence against a host; and as the season was very inclement, it now being the month of February, the prince, had he not succeeded in satisfying the king of Navarre, might have met, on the very threshold of his enterprise, obstacles capable of paralysing his exertions. Even without an enemy, the passage over the Pyrennees presented so many difficulties that a council of war was held to determine when and in what manner the army should attempt to surmount them. The result was, that the vanguard, under the command of the duke of Lancaster, consisting of 12,000 cavalry, accompanied by the noble Chandos (his own force numbering 1200 pennons displaying his arms),¹ with many gallant knights, both of England and of Aquitaine, were the first to pass these terrible defiles. The next day the Black Prince, heading another division of 10,000 horse, accompanied by Don Pedro, with many noblemen and gentlemen, having with them the king of Navarre—ostensibly as a guide, though in reality as a hostage—followed their vanguard, and after a painful march, in terrible weather, with sharp wind and snow all the way, they entered the valley of Pampeluna, where they gladly took up their quarters, except the favoured few, who, with the prince and Don Pedro, were conducted to Pampeluna, and there entertained with a handsome supper by the king of Navarre. The following day, the same route was pursued by the king

¹ ASHMOLÉ'S *Garter*, p. 708. *Vitæ Domini John Chandos in Bibl. Cott.* p. 79.

of Majorca, with another division of at least 10,000 horse, who were so fortunate as to meet with more favourable weather.

The straits of Roncesvalles must have presented an animated picture when the steel-clad battalions of the invading army, with their forests of spears and parterres of banners, were slowly winding along the mountain-paths, amid frowning rocks and gloomy ravines, rendered more wild by being clothed in the savage livery of winter; and the hardy soldiers must have hailed with extraordinary satisfaction the appearance of the valley spreading out luxuriantly beneath them, as they descended into the king of Navarre's territories. In the pleasurable anticipations which then cheered their march they were not disappointed, for they there found plenty of provisions of every kind, and comfortable lodging. The free companions could not be withheld from supplying themselves after their own fashion, and their violence and rapine caused such complaints to be made to the king of Navarre, that he could scarcely help coming to the conviction he had made a bad bargain. Navarre, however, was less his than theirs; so he was obliged to content himself with making a remonstrance with some of their principal leaders.

The usurper of the throne of Castile did not remain inactive when he heard of the extensive preparations making in behalf of Don Pedro to drive him out of the kingdom. He immediately sent to hurry the return of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was coming to his aid from France with important reinforcements; and receiving intelligence that the prince of Aquitaine and of Wales had passed the mountains, sent him a letter, by a special messenger, to inquire his intentions.¹ He found the prince at Pampeluna, and having performed his mission, he was courteously treated, and desired to remain in the camp till an answer could be sent back; for, after the perusal of the letter, the prince laid it before his

¹ This epistle begins in a strain truly Castilian: "Don Henrique por la gracia de Dios, rey de Castilla, y Leon, de Galizia, de Cordova, de Murcia, de Jaén del Algarve, del Algezira, de Gibraltar, e Senor de Viscaya, e Molina," &c. &c.

council, and by their direction the messenger was detained. But Don Henry had no intention of trusting his cause to diplomacy. Having collected a large force, he marched to meet the prince, and opened a communication with the king of Navarre, who every day became less satisfied with the part he had taken in the quarrel. His position now, however, was a delicate one; for though his inclinations were for the usurper, Navarre was entirely at the mercy of the army marching to support the legitimate claimant. With a disposition so crafty, it was not likely he would be long in devising a scheme by which, without outwardly committing himself, he could join Don Henry; and he shortly afterwards contrived to be taken prisoner by Sir Olivier de Mauny,—who commanded a small detachment of the French reinforcement—whilst with a small retinue enjoying the amusement of the chase.

On the evening of the day the prince of Wales received the letter of Henry of Transtamare, he granted the request of Sir William Felton, to be allowed to ride forward in search of adventures. This gallant knight, therefore, with a force under his command of 160 lances and 300 archers, among whom were his brother Sir Thomas, the earl of Angus, Sir Thomas Hefford, Sir Robert Knolles,¹ Sir Guillard Viguier, Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir Hugh Stafford, Sir Richard Causton, and Sir Simon Burley, “who,” says Froissart, “are not

¹ Among the leaders of the free companies there were few Englishmen who obtained such celebrity as this very gallant and fortunate knight. He commenced his career in a humble manner, but enriched himself so by his expeditions as to be able to command one of the most considerable bodies of these roving troops then in existence. His name was a “word of fear” wherever it was known; for a considerable time the gable-ends of the buildings he had overthrown in Auvergne were known as “Knowles his Miters.” In one of his excursions, he marched upon Avignon with a force that appears to have frightened the pope and cardinals out of their wits. And some of his characteristics may be found in the following rhymes, said to have been written about this time,—

“Roberte Knollis, per te fit Francus mollis;
Ipsius tollis prædas dans vulnera collis.”

The ban of outlawry, which he had had launched against him, was removed by Edward the Third, upon his submitting himself and his immense possessions and wealth into the king's hands.—KNIGHTON, 2619. WALSHINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 166. FABIAN, p. 236. BARNES, p. 562.

men to be forgotten," crossed the river Ebro, and took up their quarters in a small village on the frontiers of Navarre, called Navaretta. The prince also set his army in motion, and having secured trustworthy guides, he marched through a difficult country upon Salvatierra, in the Spanish territory; the inhabitants of which making their submission to Don Pedro, the prince, with his brother, and the kings of Castile and Majorca, and a strong force took up their quarters there, and the rest quartered themselves in the neighbouring villages. Froissart says that Pedro desired to mark his return to his dominions by the slaughter of his revolted subjects who had surrendered, but was prevented from so speedily recommencing the cruelties which had occasioned his being driven out of Castile, by the humane interposition of the prince of Wales.

Sir William Felton pushed forward with his gallant little band, and obtaining, after a skirmish with the advanced post of the enemy, information of Don Henry's movements, he sent word to the prince that the Spaniards were advancing in force in the direction of Vittoria. This caused the prince to hasten his march there, where he presently fell in with Sir William, who he found waiting his approach. While they were discoursing on the details each had to communicate, intelligence was brought that the enemy was approaching, and finding this confirmed, the prince gave orders for the trumpets to sound, that every man should be at his post, and the army drawn up in regular order of battle, in accordance with commands that had been given to this effect from the head-quarters at Salvatierra. These arrangements were made with beautiful order, and the chivalric display that ensued as the men took their assigned posts under their lords' banners, has elicited the admiration of a chronicler who was no mean connoisseur in such scenes.¹ The prince conferred on

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxxxviii. In lord Berners' quaint version, the passage is thus given, "Ther might have been sene great nobleness, and baners and penons beaten, with arms waving in the wynde. What shulde I say more? It was great nobleness to beholde; the vaward was so well ranged, that it was marveyle to beholde."

several gentlemen the honour of knighthood,¹ among whom were Don Pedro — his own step-son, the lord Thomas Holland, a youth of seventeen — Hugh, Philip and Denis Courtney — William Molineux, John Covet, and Nicholas Bond; and although deprived of his rear-division, whose delay in coming to his assistance caused him considerable anxiety, he was disposed to give Don Henry immediate battle; the latter, however, notwithstanding he was in superior force, was desirous of waiting for the reinforcement under the command of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, which was close at hand. The invaders, therefore, found themselves unmolested, and the marshals ordered every man to retire to his quarters for the night, and by sound of trumpet in the morning to return to the exact position he now held.

Sir William Felton and his detachment were not included in this order, for they took up their quarters two leagues in advance of the main army, with the object of watching the enemy's movements. But he does not appear to have used sufficient diligence: on the arrival of the reinforcements from France and Arragon, Don Tello, one of Henry of Transtamare's brothers, set out with a force of 6000 horsemen to attempt a surprise. At break of day they started, and at sunrise fell upon Sir Hugh Calverly and his detachment in a valley about a league from the prince's army. Sir Hugh managed to escape, but he lost his baggage, and his men were cut to pieces. The Spaniards next made a violent assault upon the nearest quarters of the vanguard, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. They rushed on, shouting "Castile!" overturning every thing, and slaying or wounding every one they met; but although they produced some confusion at first, they did no great damage, for the duke, with the assistance of Sir John Chandos, soon had his men in readiness, and the prince coming up to their assistance, Don Tello thought it most advisable to retreat.

¹ All the principal commanders appear to have used their privilege on this occasion, for Froissart states the number of new-made knights to have amounted to 300. The duke of Lancaster created twelve, and Sir John Chandos seven. Mr. James makes no allusion to this creation.

On their return to their own quarters, the Spaniards fell in with Sir William Felton's force; but this gallant little band of 200 men, cut off from all prospect of assistance, and disdaining to fly, took the best position they could on a hill close by, and fought the 6000 Spaniards, with such success, that Don Tello was obliged to goad his countrymen on by saying they ought to be able to swallow up such a handful of enemies, before they could break their ranks. Finding that his case was a hopeless one, Sir William descended the hill at full gallop with his lance at rest, and dashing unattended into the midst of the Spaniards, he drove his spear against one of his opponents with such force, that it penetrated his armour, passed through his body, and bore him dead to the ground. He was soon surrounded, and though ultimately killed, continued fighting as long as his strength lasted;¹ not one of the knights who accompanied him escaping. Some were taken prisoners, and the rest slain, except a few boys, probably pages, who owed their lives to the fleetness of their horses.

It was near vespers when the fugitives brought the disastrous news of the loss of Sir William Felton's detachment, which seems to have been deeply regretted by the army. The men retired to their quarters at the usual hour, but early on the morrow a council was called, who came to the determination that the army should leave their present position: accordingly, the men marched full armed—ready for an immediate engagement if attacked—and took up another nearer Vittoria. Don Henry seems to have at first contented himself by endeavouring to cut off all supplies from the invaders, and as they found almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of drawing any from Navarre—doubtless from the intrigues of its faithless monarch—they now suffered such severe privations, that a small loaf of bread was eagerly bought, in the prince's army, for a florin. This, with tempestuous weather,

¹ Among the many fictions in the different lives of Bertrand du Guesclin will be found that which states him to have killed Sir William with his own hand; he was not even present when this brave man met his death.

and the hope of drawing the Spaniards after him, induced the prince to fall back on his supplies. The army took the road towards Navaretta, passing through Viana, crossed the river at the bridge of Logrono, and refreshed themselves in a country full of gardens, though provisions were still very difficult to procure. This movement caused a corresponding one on the part of Don Henry and du Gueselin, which the prince heard with great satisfaction; and then, with the advice of his council, sent by the messenger he had detained, the following reply to the letter he had received three weeks before:—

“Edward, by the grace of God, prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester, to the right honourable and renowned lord Henry, earl of Trancstamare, who, at this present, calls himself king of Castile.

“Whereas, you have sent unto us by your herald, a letter containing divers passages, intimating that you would gladly know why we take to be our friend and lover, your enemy, our cousin the king Don Pedro, and by what title we make war upon you, being entered with a royal army into Castile. To this we now answer, know you for a truth, that it is to maintain justice, and to uphold reason, as it appertaineth to all kings and princes to do. And also to cherish the strict alliances which the king of England, our dearest father, made with the king Don Pedro, in times past. However, because you are renowned among worthy knights, we are willing, if we may, to reconcile Don Pedro and you, and so persuade him that he shall yield a considerable part of Castile to you, on your engaging to renounce the crown of that kingdom and its possessions. You had better consider this proposition; and concerning our invasion of Castile, we will proceed at our own pleasure, as we think best. Dated at Logrono, the 30th day of March, in the year of grace 1367.”¹

This reply Don Henry received at Najara, and had it read before some of his commanders. Du Gueselin regarded it as an assurance of speedy battle, and advised caution; but the usurper, vaunting his great superiority of force,² endeavoured to undervalue the power of the writer, and seemed to have no other thought than of risking a battle. In this he was not likely to be disappointed, for the prince was marching towards him, and having reached Navaretta on the 2d of April, had sent out scouts to examine his adversary's

¹ RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 131. FROISSART, chap. ccxl. There is considerable difference in the versions of the prince's letter preserved in these works.

• ² BARNES, p. 705.

position and strength. The same thing was done by Don Henry, and both, in consequence of the intelligence they obtained, made active preparations for the approaching engagement. The Spaniards were commanded to sup early and retire to rest soon after, that they might be the more thoroughly refreshed by their slumbers, and the more capable of enduring the fatigues of the morrow. They made themselves merry, ate heartily, drank deeply—for they had abundance of every thing at their disposal—and went to sleep fully satisfied they had an easy conquest before them. In the other army there were no such jovial carousings, for, in truth, they had nothing of any kind wherewith to make merry, and suffered so greatly from want of provisions, that the night was spent rather in fasting than in feasting; nor should there be matter of surprise, if the prospect of attacking a host, variously estimated at from 90,000 to 110,000 men, with not more than one third the smaller number, excited some misgivings. But there is no reason for believing that any feeling was entertained among the forces of the prince, except an eager desire to be led against the enemy. In this feeling the conqueror at Cressy and Poitiers largely participated. He had risked the chances of war when a similar disparity of force existed, and was sufficiently satisfied with the result to try his fortune again; but he was a commander not likely to leave much to chance. His arrangements were well considered and carefully made. Towards evening he published secret orders for every man to hold himself in readiness at the first sound of the trumpet; on the second sound he was to arm; on the third to mount and follow the banners of the marshals and the pennon of St. George; and moreover, it was commanded that no one, under pain of death, should leave the ranks without being ordered so to do.¹

At break of day² the whole army was in order of march, in the same divisions in which it had passed the Pyrenees. The sun rose upon a magnificent sight, for

¹ FROISSART.

² By a memorandum preserved in RYMER, this event is known to have occurred on the 3d of April.

at once it shone upon the martial columns of the prince of Wales, and on the numerous host of Henry of Transamare, which was seen approaching them. Something of the splendour of this spectacle may be imagined, when it is remembered, that besides the array of banners and pennons amidst a gleaming forest of spears, and the shining armour of the combatants, every distinguished knight wore over his coat of mail a surcoat, usually of satin richly embroidered, bearing conspicuously upon it his arms elaborately wrought in gold work. In the Spanish army there was more variety of military costume, but not less display; some portion bearing tokens of their association with the warlike Moors, with whom their ancestors had contested many a well-fought field. Edward of Woodstock, from an elevation, scrutinised the appearance of the Spaniards. Undaunted by the number and gallant bearing of his enemies, he extended his line of battle in the plain, and then ordered his whole force to halt.

At this period the noble Chandos advanced in front of the battalions bearing his own *pensel* unceasing. Hitherto he had not been rich enough to maintain the dignity of a knight banneret, therefore, though amongst the most skilful and valiant commanders of his age, he was in rank on a par only with the humblest knight in the army. Addressing his prince he said, "My lord, here is my banner; I present it to you that I may display it in whatever manner may be most agreeable to you; for, thanks be to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain it with sufficient dignity." In the state in which the banner was presented to the Black Prince, it was the swallowtailed pensel that distinguished ordinary knights, with the arms of Chandos blazoned on the top; but the prince immediately cut off the tail and made it square, and then, after he and Don Pedro had displayed it before the whole army, he returned it to its owner, exclaiming with much earnestness, "Sir John, God give you strength and honour to preserve it." The gallant Chandos, after rendering due thanks to his lord, hastened to present it to his division, who received it

with universal acclamation, exclaiming, "Please God and St. George, we will defend it well, and act worthily by it." The banner was then formally intrusted to the custody of a doughty esquire, called William Allestry, and the new-made banneret proceeded to aid the young duke of Lancaster in the duties of command, as he had so effectually in former glorious fields assisted his heroic brother.

The English and Gascons in front¹ now dismounted, and leaving their horses behind marched forward on foot, as the prince, with his vizor up, his eyes elevated to heaven, and his hands joined together in prayer, exclaimed, "O very God, Jesu Christ, who hast formed and created me, grant by thy benign grace, that I may this day obtain a victory over mine enemies, as I am engaged in a righteous quarrel, and am about to do battle for a dethroned and exiled king." Laying his hand on Don Pedro he added cheerfully, "Sir king, you shall know this day whether you shall possess Castile or not;" and then addressing his army, cried with a loud voice, "Advance, banniers, in the name of God and St. George!"

The command was cheerfully responded to, and with their usual animation the different divisions of the prince of Wales's army marched against the enemy. The battle commenced with a sharp assault on that part of the usurper's force commanded by Bertrand du Guesclin and the Marshal d'Andenham — two of the most skilful commanders in his service — by the division led by the duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos, with whom were the two marshals. Du Guesclin already had had sufficient experience of the generalship of the gallant Chandos, and doubtless was exceedingly anxious to obliterate the unpleasant lesson he had been taught. On the other hand, the new-made banneret was eager to prove how well he deserved the honour his prince had conferred upon him in sight of the whole army; the result was, that both the attack

¹ BARNES, p. 707, following FROISSART, chap. ccxli. makes all the English and Gascons fight on foot, but this is at variance with almost every page of what follows in the accounts of the battle both have written.

and defence were very brilliantly maintained. So close were the ranks of the French and Arragonese,¹ and the men kept such excellent order, covering themselves with their shields, that it was with very great difficulty, and only after repeated charges, any impression could be made upon them. In the charge, the spear was sometimes directed with the force of both hands; but when the combatants got to closer quarters, the weapons generally had recourse to were the short sword, and dagger, and the battle-axe.

Sir John Chandos, in his determination to do honour to his new dignity, with his gallant banner-bearer, advanced into the thickest of his foes, and wherever that banner was to be seen, there the fight raged with the greatest fury. His own exertions seemed the result almost of a superhuman valour, and he fought with such eagerness as, whilst driving his antagonists before him, and overthrowing all by whom he was opposed, to get himself separated from his own forces. Advantage of this was speedily taken. He was surrounded, and borne off his horse during the rush that was made at him; and while on the ground, a gigantic Castilian, in considerable repute for his courage, threw himself upon him with the design of putting a speedy end to his life. A desperate struggle ensued, in the midst of which Chandos, though beneath his powerful adversary, and in the most imminent danger, contrived to draw his dagger, and by well-aimed blows pierced through the Spaniard's armour, and gave him a mortal wound. He had hardly turned over the corpse and regained his legs, when his faithful associates succeeded in breaking through the crowd, and rescuing him from his perilous position.

The division headed by the prince of Wales soon after made a similar well-directed charge upon that portion of the enemy's force which was under the command of Don Tello; but, as might have been anticipated, the hero who found such difficulty in over-

¹ According to the MS. Acts of the Black Prince, preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there was a Scottish detachment in du Guesclin's division who were in the French king's service.

powering the detachment of the gallant Felton with a power exceeding it just thirty times — of which victory he could afterward vaunt at the council-board, as if it held out a prospect of the absolute annihilation of the invaders — was not likely to stand the shock of a well-appointed force led by such a commander as the Black Prince. Before a blow was struck, the Don, with 2000 of his cavalry, turned and fled in a most disgraceful panic. The prince had not much difficulty in breaking and dispersing the rest of that division, in which he was much assisted by the Captal de Buch and the lord de Clisson, who, with their forces, after quitting the third division of their army, fell unexpectedly upon the Spaniards whilst they were engaged with the prince, and soon so thinned their ranks that the rest were glad to save themselves in the best way they could.

The main body of the Spanish army, led by Henry of Transtamare, numbered at least 40,000 men, horse and foot, against which the Black Prince now precipitated himself with very inferior numbers. The battle quickly raged with great fierceness, for Don Henry was not deficient in courage, and his men seemed animated with a spirit like his own. One arm of his army, composed of Spanish and Castilian slingers—dreaded for the unerring force with which they could cast stones, so that helmets were crushed and riders unhorsed wherever they fell—created considerable mischief, till the English archers were brought forward, and their still more fatal cloth-yard shafts not only discomfited the slingers, but caused equal havoc amongst other portions of the enemy's force. The prince of Wales maintained his brilliant reputation—he was ever in that part of the field where the battle was being most hotly contested, and Don Pedro fought with the fiery valour of a Richard the Third at Bosworth, rushing to every part of the field in search of his brother, whom he challenged—in language far more emphatic than elegant—to shew his face if he dared.

Henry had enough employment elsewhere. He

had made arrangements for the battle, most probably under the direction of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, which displayed excellent judgment. His own battalion was composed of picked men-at-arms, the flower of the chivalry of Spain and Portugal; and they are described as acquitting themselves exceedingly well with lances, guisarmes, pikes, and swords. There were also stationed on his wings reserves of light cavalry, to watch the issue of the fight, and charge wherever their assistance was required. But the division commanded by du Guesclin, which since its first attack had been reinforced by a strong Spanish force, behaved with the most steady courage; he and the principal knights in his company signalled themselves gallantly, but they found themselves in the same position which in an earlier part of the day they had placed Sir John Chandos; they were surrounded, and so completely cut off from every chance of rescue that they were obliged to surrender; and as by this means du Guesclin, the *maréchal d'Andenham*, and the *Begue de Vilaines*, with some threescore more of the bravest of the knights who had accompanied Sir Bertrand from France, became prisoners, the fate of the battalion to which they belonged was soon sealed. The veteran companions charged their broken ranks whilst the men were dispirited by the loss of their leaders, and a rout of the whole body quickly followed.

Chandos did not lose any time in pursuing the fugitives beyond what was necessary to make their dispersion as complete as possible. He at once hastened to the assistance of the Black Prince, who, previously reinforced by the division of the king of Majorca, was maintaining a battle on something like equal terms. He is described as especially behaving himself worthy of his name and character, encouraging and directing his men, and performing the office both of a good soldier and of an accomplished captain. He was always in the heat of action, and wherever the greatest stress of the matter lay, thither he constantly moved, carrying along with him assurance to his

friends and terror to his enemies.¹ The war-cries of the combatants were heard above the clash of the steel, "Castile for king Henry!" being as lustily shouted by the Spaniards and Portuguese, as the English and Gascons cried, "St. George for Guienne!" But it was when the former began to give way before the furious assaults which their opponents had so long been directing against them, that they unexpectedly heard the shouts of "St. George for Guienne!" assailing them in a new direction, and with an impetuosity nothing could withstand, the victorious division of the duke of Lancaster poured down upon them in a mass, dispersing their slingers, driving back their men-at-arms, and scattering their light infantry in all directions.

In vain their commander implored them to stand by him, in vain he encouraged the wavering, and applauded the desperate; with enemies pressing on them on every side,—the king of Majorca, with his well-appointed force penetrating their ranks in one place; the prince of Wales, with his invincible phalanx, forcing them back in another; and the gallant Chandos, with his victorious companies, overthrowing them horse and foot in a third, the fight soon became a hopeless one for the main body of the usurper's army: they got into a state of utter confusion, broke and fled; and as soon as he perceived that all was lost, their leader followed their example. A chase ensued which was not less disastrous to the Spaniards than the contested field. Wherever any considerable body kept together, they were followed by their enemies in sufficient force to annihilate them. At the bridge of Najara multitudes of the fugitives were slain or drowned in the river; and they had scarcely got to the town, when they were charged in the streets with a resistless fury, and such as did not at once render themselves prisoners, were attacked and killed where they stood. Thousands lost their lives in this way, and so great was the effusion of blood, it is stated that the water of the river ran red

¹ BARNES, p. 710.

for a mile beyond the scene of slaughter.¹ Besides the prisoners they had made at Najara, the victors found an immense booty, for in the usurper's lodgings he had left jewels and vessels of gold and silver to a very large amount.

The field could not fairly be said to have been won till about noon, when, finding no considerable part of the enemy's superior force remained upon it that were not either killed or taken prisoners, the Black Prince, as was customary with him on such occasions, caused his banner to be fixed upon the most elevated place near him, to direct his officers where to bring their men; and shortly afterwards his principal commanders pitched theirs in its immediate vicinity,² among which that of the gallant Chandos was one that had been borne the most honourably, the captives of the greatest distinction having been taken under it. This collection of beautifully embroidered streamers in such a place could have been seen at a great distance, and many of the victors, recognising the colours or cognisances of their lords, hastened to take up their proper positions. The majority of the free companies were too busily employed in plundering to see what was going on elsewhere, and a great number were little inclined to desist from labour so attractive, even had they beheld the usual signal for their recall. At last came Don Pedro, breathless with his exertions in helping to slaughter his fugitive countrymen, his stately black charger covered with foam and dust, and his armour and weapons bearing traces of the sanguinary struggle in which he had been engaged. Seeing the banner of the prince of Wales, he rode up, and as he alighted the prince came

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 167, n. 30. A stand was made at Najara by a powerful force under the command of the grand prior of St. James's and the grand master of Calatrava, who secured themselves in a strong stone house; but these military monks were soon forced to surrender, and in a short time the fine army of Don Henry was scattered in small parties all over the face of the surrounding country.

² Among the first to return from the pursuit were the duke of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, the Captal de Buch, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and the lord de Clisson, together with the lord James, king of Majorca, and Don Martin de la Carra, who was in the field as the lieutenant of the king of Navarre.—FROISSART, chap. ccxxii.

towards him, anxious to shew him the respect due to his rank, and to be among the first to offer him congratulations on the victory they had just obtained. The king appeared so deeply influenced by the extent of his obligations to his heroic ally, that he would have cast himself on his knees before him, had not the other prevented it. When with his peculiar courteous manner he took him by the hand, and Don Pedro was profuse in his acknowledgments, with the same graceful humility of which I have already given more than one characteristic example, the prince replied, "Sir, render your thanks to God; for to Him alone belongs the praise: the victory comes from Him and not from me."

The lords of the council now being assembled, after mutual congratulations and commendations, there ensued an animated discussion on the favourable position of the king of Castile's affairs, in which the prince took an active part, till a great portion of his army had returned to their banners. He then ordered four knights and as many heralds to examine the bodies of the slain, and report their number and quality, and afterwards proceeded, with the kings of Castile and Majorca, and his most distinguished knights, to the well-furnished quarters of the fugitive Don Henry, where an excellent supper was prepared for them. The men being allowed to distribute themselves among the tents of their enemies, found such an abundance of wine and provisions that they passed the night in a manner no less satisfactory to themselves than they had passed the day. The banquet at the palace of Najara was, doubtless, a most joyful one, and the important service by which the whole of Castile was now restored to the banished monarch, without the probability of any further opposition, must have made the victorious commander and the restored king objects of peculiar interest, not only to each other, but to every one of the distinguished company present.¹ After sup-

¹ Unfortunately no description of this scene has been preserved. Froissart, for whose admirable talent for reporting it must have afforded ample scope, merely states that the victors supped together at the usurper's quarters, and most other historians content themselves with following him.

per the knights and heralds returned from their labours, and reported that of the enemy they found dead in the field about 5600 nobles and persons of distinction and men-at-arms, and in the chase 3000¹ more, and of the more humble combatants about 7500.² This estimate did not include vast numbers of unfortunate Spaniards who had been drowned in the river. The amount of slain belonging to the army of the prince of Wales is incredibly disproportionate, as given by Froissart, who states that only four knights fell,—two Gascons, a German, and an Englishman; and about forty common men.³ This was gratifying intelligence to Don Pedro; but on the heralds affirming that his rival was not among the slain, he was far from being as well pleased.⁴ It was also ascertained that there were in the hands of the victors about 2000 prisoners, 200 of whom owed allegiance to the king of France, and a considerable number are stated to have been Scotchmen.⁵

On the following morning, when the prince of Aquitaine had left his tent, and was receiving the salutations of his principal commanders, the king of Castile presented himself before him, and requested, as a

Mr. James, from whose Spanish studies something new might have been expected, as usual, disappoints the reader, by passing it by without even the slightest allusion.

¹ KNIGHTON, 2629; BARNES, p. 711. FROISSART says 560 men-at-arms.

² FROISSART, chap. ccxlii.

³ Mr. James (vol. ii. p. 302) gives "about 8000" as the amount of slain, dividing it equally amongst English, French, and Spaniards; but this shews of an affection for "round numbers" rather than a desire to give a trustworthy estimate. In a field containing nearly 140,000 fighting men, in which a furious and well-contested battle was carried on for several hours, gained only in consequence of the immense loss sustained in the contest by the stronger party, it is much more likely that there were at least 15,000 men among the slain. I am as little inclined to believe that Mr. James is correct in giving 4000 as the amount of loss of the usurper, as that Froissart is more so in making the loss of the prince of Wales but 44.

⁴ Mr. James, on the authority of de Ayala, states that Henry of Trans-tamare, after his defeat, fled to Soria and Calataynd, sought refuge in the neighbouring castle of Illueca, and by the assistance of its lord was enabled to pass through Arragon in disguise, and reach a more secure asylum in Avignon.

⁵ *MS. Vet. Ang. in Bib. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 233, cited by Barnes.

mark of friendship, to be allowed to have possession of his illegitimate brother, Don Sancho, and the rest of the Spanish prisoners, that he might have the pleasure of cutting off their heads. The prince, no doubt shocked at hearing such a demand, considered for a short time, and then answered, "Sir king, I have also a request to make to you, and I beg in the name of our friendship and alliance that you will not deny it me."

Don Pedro saw that in his situation he ought readily to satisfy any claim on him from such a quarter before he attempted to prefer one of his own, and answered cheerfully, "Fair cousin, whatever I have is yours."

"Sir king," added the prince, with that fine benevolent spirit which in him made the soldier assume the almost incompatible character of the philanthropist, "I entreat and beg of you very earnestly to pardon all the evils your rebellious subjects have committed against you up to this time. By performing such an act of kindness and generosity, you will be sure of remaining in peaceful possession of your kingdom. I, however, except from this amnesty Don Gomez Garrillo,¹ for with him I am content you should do as you think best."

The implacable king was taken by surprise at this interposition, but as the request could not be evaded, he granted it with as good a grace as he could assume. To the great gratification of the prince and many of his nobles, the prisoners were sent for, and on condition that they should swear fealty, honour, and service to him as their natural lord, and become his vassals — which they willingly consented to do — Don Pedro embraced his brother, and promised to bury in oblivion the offences of himself and his companions. His desire for vengeance, however, was not to be totally disappointed. The traitor whose crimes were so great that the humane prince considered him unworthy of his consideration, immediately he was delivered into the king's custody, was by his command hur-

¹ He must have been an infamous traitor, or the Black Prince would not have given him up.

ried before his tent, where, notwithstanding his offers of ransom, he was without ceremony beheaded. After seeing this execution completed to his satisfaction, he set off at the head of a detachment of 500 men-at-arms, attended by the liberated prisoners, to Burgos, where, the news of the late victory having preceded him, he was received at the gates with more fear than love by a deputation of the principal citizens, who presented him the keys of their city, and with as much pomp and acclamation as they could manage to create, accompanied him through the streets to his quarters.

The prince of Wales did not leave Najara till the next day, and two days after reached Burgos. He entered that ancient city in grand procession, and the pageant presented by the magnificent appearance he made in the midst of his most illustrious commanders, was not more agreeable to the good citizens, than was the display of riches made by them to do their visitors honour, agreeable to the victors. None but the great men took up their quarters in Burgos; the army being encamped in the plains without the walls, ostensibly that the men might have more room, but really to preserve as much as possible the property of the inhabitants. Here the prince stayed three weeks, during which time he assisted the restored monarch in appropriately celebrating the festival of Easter; and proclamations having been published, inviting the Spaniards to return to their allegiance, of which they universally availed themselves, he was present on Easter-day at the audience Don Pedro gave the deputies from Asturias, Toledo, Leon, Cordova, Galicia, Seville, and from all the other provinces and towns dependent on the king of Castile, who attended to do him homage. Entertainments of the most costly character followed each other in the town and in the camp, which the prince daily visited. He gave judgment in all matters relating to arms, and continually afforded the knights opportunities of displaying their prowess in the tournament. Although all this was very pleasant both to the men and to their officers, it

did not escape observation that the king had as yet given no sign of his intention to fulfil his obligations. It was thought necessary to remind him of them, and the prince is stated to have addressed him to the following effect:—

“ You are now, thanks to God, the acknowledged lord of your own country; for every sign of rebellion and opposition has passed away. And, sir, I and my men tarry here at our great charge and expense. Wherefore I request you to provide money to satisfy those who have reinstated you on your throne, and to complete those treaties which you have sworn, to and sealed. And, sir, the sooner this is done the more acceptable will it be to us, and the more to your advantage; for you cannot be ignorant that men-at-arms must needs live, and if they be not paid will help themselves.”

The king professed his willingness to fulfil all that he had promised, but being very deficient in funds, he required to go to Seville where he could easily collect what was necessary. He advised that the army should march to the fertile country of Valladolid, where there was abundance of every thing, and promised by Whitsuntide at the latest, to join the prince with the sum required of him. This answer appears to have given complete satisfaction to all parties, and the king started for Seville, whilst the prince with his forces did not long delay their journey to the pleasant quarters pointed out to them.¹ In the neighbourhood of Valladolid they remained with little profit or pleasure to the inhabitants, for the free companies shewed themselves worthy of their name by making free with whatever they fancied, with even less ceremony than had distinguished their behaviour since they had entered Spain. Whitsuntide came, but it brought not the king of Castile; day after day passed by, and yet he neither made his appearance, nor could any one gain the slightest intelligence of him. Those

¹ It appears from a memorandum preserved in Rymer, that the prince obtained from Pedro, before he left Burgos, an engagement to pay all the expenses of the war, dated at that city, May 2, 1367.

who before the setting out of the expedition had warned their commander of the infamous character of Pedro the Cruel, now loudly maintained he was not less faithless and dishonourable than he had previously proved himself tyrannical and unjust. The prince began to be exceedingly uneasy. A thought of the immense responsibility he had incurred was enough in the present critical state of things to have caused him intense anxiety. But he could not be brought to believe that one holding the high position of Don Pedro, and bound by every tie of gratitude to act justly, could be so base as he was suspected to be. Nevertheless, his reflections were of a very melancholy cast. A sense of the difficulty of his situation appears to have given him such a shock, that his fine constitution and robust frame visibly gave way before it.

He assembled his council, and after mature deliberation it was resolved that Sir Nele Loring, Sir Richard Pontchardon, and Sir Thomas Banister, should be sent to the king to demand the reason of this unaccountable delay in fulfilling his engagements, and to urge him to come to an immediate settlement, as it was necessary that the army should return to Aquitaine. The ambassadors proceeded to Seville, where they were courteously received by Don Pedro, who, on hearing their message, excused himself for the non-performance of his covenants, on the plea that his people could not collect the money that was wanted while the free companies remained in the kingdom; alleging that some of them had already killed three or four persons journeying from him to the prince with large sums of money; and promising, that if a few knights were left in the country, and the companies took their departure, the former should be paid the claim the prince had upon him with as little delay as possible.¹

It is scarcely necessary to state that this was an

¹ HOLINSHED, *English Chron.* p. 994, says, that he entered into an agreement to pay to the prince one moiety of his claim at the end of four months, and the remainder at the end of a year.

artifice to get rid of creditors who might, if they chose, enforce their demand in a fashion that was not likely to be agreeable to him, whilst his assertion that he had already sent several sums of money, was entitled to as much consideration as his promise to pay when all fear of his being made to do so was set at rest by the departure of his powerful creditors from the kingdom. In short, Pedro the Cruel, save only the quality of physical courage, had not one respectable trait in his character. He was as great a rogue as he was a tyrant; and had as little sense of honesty, honour, and equity, as the horse he bestrode.

The summer had set in with remarkable fierceness, and the stay of the army of Valladolid was protracted throughout four of the hottest months of the year, during which, a pestilence broke out in the camp which swept away vast numbers of the men, and greatly enfeebled those who recovered.¹ It spared not the noblest soldier any more than the humblest—for among the distinguished commanders whose health felt its influence, were the king of Majorca and the prince of Aquitaine. To the latter, though he ultimately triumphed over the attack, it was so near proving fatal, and its effects were so startling, that it began to be generally suspected he had been poisoned.² If we were to judge of Don Pedro by what is known of his character, there is too much reason for believing that he was capable of any atrocity to get rid of a claimant he did not intend to satisfy; but there is something in the idea of a man, indebted for a kingdom to the courage of a numerous force, every individual in which had risked his life, his means, and his credit in his quarrel, striving to rid himself of a pecuniary claim he had entered into for their assistance, by the indiscriminate administration of poison, so unaturally revolting, that I am much more inclined to seek a cause for the pestilence in an unhealthy climate and improper diet. It is, however, but too true, that though their heroic leader became convalescent, he never completely recovered, and his

¹ KNIGHTON, 2629.

² WALSINGHAM, p. 117.

general health was so much impaired as to render removal to another climate imperative. It was the opinion of the council that no reliance was to be placed upon the promises of the king of Castile, and that he had shamefully and dishonourably failed in his engagements. Finding, therefore, that nothing better could be obtained from him—that they could only remain in Spain at the risk of falling victims to the pestilence, and that the intelligence they had received from the principality demanded their immediate return, a homeward march was resolved upon. Before it commenced, the prince sent Sir John Chandos and Sir Hugh Courtenay to the king of Majorca to inform him of its necessity, requesting him to prepare immediately if he desired to accompany the army, and offering to leave a sufficient guard with him if he preferred staying behind. The king was so enfeebled by disease, he could not lift his foot to the stirrups, and, though not insensible of the prince's care of him, was so regardless of his own safety as to express his intention of remaining where he was, and declined to have any guard.

To the great gratification of the whole force, their return was commenced, but they were more than once delayed by the obstacles thrown in their way. They were detained in a valley on the borders of Spain, Arragon, and Navarre, while negotiations were proceeding to obtain uninterrupted access to the passes of the Pyrenees, through which it was necessary for them to proceed. The king of Navarre, though known to be at liberty, not being to be found, it was suspected he was again intriguing, for his own advantage, to prevent their return, and the prince of Wales sent an embassy to the king of Arragon to request permission to march peaceably through his dominions—paying a fair price for whatever they required—which was allowed; but when the king of Navarre heard of this arrangement, he made his appearance before the prince, offering a passage through his territories for himself, the duke of Lancaster, and several other distinguished commanders both of England and Aquitaine, but excused

himself from letting his people have any further acquaintance with the free companies. Froissart, who, if not exactly on the spot, was not far off, and might easily have drawn his information from the best sources, states that the Black Prince overruled the objections of the king, and managed him so well, that he obtained permission both for the companies and for the rest of the army, and was attended in his march through Navarre as far as the straits of Roncesvalles by the king and Don Martin de la Carra.¹ Other authorities make the companies take the route offered by the king of Arragon, whilst their leader and the other portion of the force availed themselves of the offer of the king of Navarre.²

It does not seem, however, that the passage of the Pyrenees was so disastrous to the army as it had been a few months before, nevertheless, the whole homeward march must have been unpleasant enough, particularly to the gallant commander of the expedition, to whom it brought plenty of leisure to reflect on the disagreeable position in which he was placed. He might have recalled the chivalrous sentiments and glorious anticipations with which he had opened the campaign, and compared them with the gloomy forebodings with which he now returned to his principality. It is true that his success had been most signal and complete, and could not but have satisfied

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxliii.

² BARNES, p. 716. Mr. JAMES, vol. ii. p. 307, leans to the statements of the Spanish chroniclers, which agree with that of Barnes, and he makes the prince in his negotiations with the king of Arragon, actuated with a zeal to serve Don Pedro, which, under the circumstances in which he was then placed by that monarch's dishonourable conduct towards him, seems incredible. Nevertheless, such a treaty was entered into, but we have no evidence to shew whether the conditions in it in favour of Don Pedro were imposed on the king of Arragon, or offered by him in wholesome fear of his successful and dreaded neighbour; or, whether they arose out of a politic consideration on the part of the prince of Wales, that such an instance of service might act as an appeal to Don Pedro's better feelings. Sufficient experience of his regard for the obligations that had been rendered him had already been obtained, but the Black Prince was of a disposition to hope his debtor was not so lost to all sense of shame and honour as he appeared. A reference to the documents preserved in the *Fœdera* does not throw much light on this part of the prince's history.

his most sanguine hopes; and yet it is doubtful whether the greatest reverse his arms could have met with would have placed him in a worse position than that in which he now found himself. He was returning to his own government with the mercenaries for whose demands for the services they had rendered the king of Castile he had incautiously become answerable; which, as he had no means of satisfying, and could not dismiss them till he had, made the prospect of a prolonged stay among his subjects of a force of this lawless description in such formidable numbers, far from being agreeable. Added to this, there were the numerous nobles and knights of his principality whose services he had accepted; many of the most influential of these had long been dissatisfied with his government, and had been suspected of holding secret communications with his crafty enemy the king of France, and the discontent with which they were pretty sure to regard his inability to pay the wages of themselves and their men, and the presence of the free companies in their country, he expected would soon burst out into open insolence. The intelligence he had received of certain proceedings in Aquitaine (which will be detailed in the following chapter) did not add much to his peace of mind. In short, his affairs assumed so threatening an aspect, that even in a healthy mind their considerations must have created the greatest perplexity and embarrassment,—but where the powers of the body were dreadfully enfeebled by disease, and the spirits weighed down by the abominable treachery of which he was the victim, the impression they made must have been cruelly distressing.

It is difficult to blame him for the rashness with which he allowed himself to be so greatly involved for one so unworthy of his interference as the fugitive king of Castile, as it arose entirely from a sympathy with misfortune, which formed one of the most prominent features in perfect knighthood. The love of enterprise, which, no doubt, had its share in influencing him in his efforts to assist the dethroned monarch might be mistaken for ambition, did not

such undeniable proofs exist of the absence in him of every thing bearing the shape of selfishness, pride, and vanity; qualities, the ambitious soldier is very rarely found without. The readiness with which he allowed himself to be deluded by his faithless ally is evidence in his favour rather than to his prejudice, for it proves the perfect chivalrousness of his noble nature that could not stoop to calculate or stop to exact. It is, therefore, impossible to withhold our sympathies from the hero whose honourable and glorious course we have followed, now, in a joyless spirit pursuing his weary way to the home of his adoption, where anxious and most affectionate hearts awaited his return.

He arrived at Bayonne, where he was received with the most lively demonstrations of satisfaction; and having by a stay of four days somewhat recruited his strength, he pursued his journey to Bordeaux. As he approached his capital, crowds poured out to welcome him, and every thing which could give honour and solemnity to the occasion appeared to have been employed by the authorities of the city. No doubt, this respect and homage was soothing to him in his present unhappy disposition; but his greatest comfort and sweetest solace must have been drawn from his meeting with the princess of Aquitaine and his eldest son Edward then about three years of age, who were the principal personages in the procession.

CHAPTER VII.

Henry of Transtamare — The Princess of Aquitaine appeals to the King of France — He forbids his Subjects making War upon the Prince — Disbandment of the Army on the Arrival of the Black Prince at Bordeaux — The Free Companies invited to remain in the Principality — Du Guesclin ransomed — The Prince embarrassed by want of Funds — The Free Companies leave the Principality and ravage France — Intrigues of the French King to seduce the Gascon Lords from their Allegiance — A Tax on Chimneys — The Policy of Charles le Sage — The insulting manner in which he Summons the Black Prince to Paris — Spirited Conduct of the Prince — Commencement of the War — Preparations of the Prince against the Enemy — He is joined by several distinguished Commanders — The Services of Sir John Chandos, Lord James Audley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and the Capital de Buch — Chandos and the Earl of Pembroke — Abbey of St. Salvin betrayed to the French — Efforts of Sir John Chandos to recover it — His Encounter with a greatly superior Force at the Bridge of Lussac — Death of the Gallant Chandos — Grief of his Companions — His Character and Burial — Irreparable Losses sustained by the Black Prince — Proclamation of King Edward annulling the Tax upon Chimneys — Its Inutility — Proceedings of the French King — Sir Bertrand du Guesclin sent for — He takes the Command of an Army and obtains several Castles and Towns in the Principality — Preparations of the Prince to take the Field in Person — Treachery punished — Du Guesclin recalled to repel an Invasion of France by an English Army under the command of Sir Robert Knolles — The latter defeated by Treachery — Character of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin — The Revolt of Limoges — The Black Prince proceeds against it — Takes the Town by Assault — Death of his eldest Son — He sails for England.

HENRY of Transtamare, after the decisive battle of Najara, found refuge at the court of the king of Aragon, to which he immediately fled, and with his assistance was conveyed to Montpellier. There he stayed a short time with the duke of Anjou, who, when a prisoner of war in England, had committed the disgraceful proceeding of avoiding the payment of his ransom by flight, and, as may readily be imagined, was an unscrupulous enemy of the whole English race. The fugitive then proceeded to Avignon, evidently to consult with his friend the pope, which having done, he returned to the duke of Anjou, with whom he

entered into engagements to do all the injury in their united power to the territories of the illustrious Englishman so particularly hated by them both. The preparations making to collect an army, and the rumours of its intended object, reached the princess of Aquitaine, who, with a decision worthy of her high station, made a powerful appeal to the king of France. This he could not evade without taking upon himself a responsibility for which he was not as yet prepared ; nor could he as a true knight, some pretensions to which he was ambitious of possessing, appear insensible to a request for his interference from a lady of such distinction, when in a time of peace and in the absence of her lord his subjects were found to be threatening her with war. The appeal was promptly and energetically responded to ; he prevented the French knights, who were about to take service, with their followers, under count Henry, from joining him, whom he expressly commanded, whilst a resident in France, not to make war upon the territories of his dear nephew the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine.

Despite of this prohibition, however, the count, humiliated by the signal defeat by which he had been obliged to fly from a throne he had usurped, and eager for revenge, carried on hostilities—assisted principally by some obscure knights of Brittany—on the borders of the principality, and before the gallant lord Audley could march against them, they contrived to do considerable mischief about Bigorre. They appear to have eluded his attempts to bring them to a general engagement, till the arrival of the Black Prince at Bordeaux, when the prudent count left Aquitaine, and once more presented himself at the court of the king of Arragon, by whom, with the assistance of his new allies, the Bretons, he was shortly afterwards enabled again to dispute Don Pedro's claims to the throne of Castile.

On the prince of Aquitaine's return to his government, he lost no time in disbanding his forces. The duke of Lancaster sailed for England, with such of the knights and men-at-arms it was necessary he should

take with him; others of their countrymen remained with the prince—the more distinguished in their several governments and offices, and the rest wherever their services were required. The nobles and knights of Gascony departed to their homes; but the free companies were invited to take up their quarters where they were, till money could be raised wherewith to pay them. The prince acknowledged his obligations, and promised to liquidate all claims upon him with as little delay as possible, saying that, although Don Pedro had most shamefully failed in his engagements, it was not for him to follow such an example. Then came the great difficulty of raising the supplies. It will be remembered that a considerable portion of the prince's plate had been coined into money at the very commencement of the Spanish campaign; therefore assistance from that source was denied. It is not stated whether he had any other available property; but he is represented as being so impoverished by the expedition as to be quite at a loss for funds on his return, which would make it appear that his resources of every kind had already been sufficiently drawn upon. He obtained a trifling assistance in a manner as unexpected as unwished for.

All the prisoners taken at the victory of Najara, with the exception of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, had been admitted to ransom before the prince left Spain; and though this knight was, from considerations of policy,¹ retained in captivity during the homeward march; on his arrival at Bordeaux he was a captive only in his inability to leave the principality unransomed. He seems to have been allowed every indulgence but that of joining his friend count Henry of Transtamare, by whom his services were urgently required, and was on excellent terms with the Black Prince, who, as has already been shewn, was to a fallen foe the most generous enemy it was possible for

¹ FROISSART, chap. cexliv., declares that du Guesclin was detained by the advice of the prince's council till Don Pedro had fulfilled his engagements; but there is no evidence that the prince was in the slightest degree anxious for his detention.

him to find. It appears that the prince, in one of his gay moments,—for even the deep melancholy that oppressed him could not deprive him of his good humour,—meeting Sir Bertrand, inquired after his health.

“My lord,” replied he, cheerfully, “I was never better in my life; and I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though a captive, the most honoured knight in the world.”

“How so?” rejoined the prince.

“They say in France, and in other countries also,” answered the wily Breton, “that you are so much afraid of me, you will on no account permit me to have my liberty.”

“Ha, Sir Bertrand!” exclaimed his unsuspecting companion, “dost imagine thou art held a prisoner from fear of thy prowess? By St. George, it is not so!” Then he added, in a tone of pleasantry, “Pay 100,000 francs, and thou art a free man!”

The sum thus mentioned was a large ransom, but certainly not beyond what ought to have been exacted from a prisoner of such distinction; indeed, it is exactly the same sum that was paid for du Guesclin’s ransom on a previous occasion; therefore the assertion some writers have advanced, that the prince named a sum far beyond what he thought he could obtain, is perfectly unfounded. It is at variance also with the object of the crafty Sir Bertrand; which was, by an appeal to the pride of his heroic conqueror, to cause him to let him easily regain his liberty.¹ As he an-

¹ Among the many marvellous stories of du Guesclin to be found in French authors, the most absurd makes him, when a prisoner in England, after the battle of Poitiers, boast that a hundred Breton knights were ready to put the last acre of their lands in pawn, and that every woman in France, labouring at her distaff, would as readily contribute a year’s earnings, to secure his freedom. Being asked to name his own ransom, he modestly valued himself at 100,000 crowns; and the French narrative adds that queen Philippa, in a transport of enthusiasm, put down for him 50,000 of that sum. This 100,000—sometimes francs and sometimes crowns—seems a favourite amount with these romancers, for it is named as his ransom on three several occasions; but though there may be some probability of that number of francs having been paid for his liberty when he had attained some celebrity, it is perfectly ridiculous to suppose that his fellow-countrymen and countrywomen would have taxed themselves for

ticipated, the manœuvre perfectly succeeded, of which he took immediate advantage, by agreeing to pay the ransom named. The prince's council, when they heard of it, were rather indignant at the trick that had been so successfully played off upon their sovereign, and, dreading the mischief that might be occasioned by such a commander joining Don Henry, strongly advised that no further notice should be taken of what had passed; but the prince, who was tenacious of his word, would not hear of any evasion of the agreement, and before the close of the year, with the assistance of the king of France¹ and the duke of Anjou, the 100,000 francs were in the coffers of the prince; and Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was at the head of a considerable force, which was shortly afterwards employed with decisive effect against Pedro the Cruel.

Such a sum, however, was but a drop of water in the huge ocean of such numerous demands as were daily forcing themselves upon the attention of the troubled prince; and the necessity of some extraordinary measure to provide funds for them became more absolute. It seems to have been remarked that, whilst a licentious force, amounting to 6000 men, were living at free quarters in the country, the people by whom they were constantly plundered were not very likely to make any unusual exertion to assist their prince out of his difficulties; therefore, it was intimated to the free companies that it would be much more profitable to themselves and satisfactory to the prince, were they to leave the principality, and seek their quarters elsewhere. To this they very readily agreed, as the small pickings they could obtain where they were, held no sort of proportion to the plunder

him in the way he is made to boast, at a period when he was in no way distinguished from the crowd of nameless knights the victory of Poitiers had made captives to the Black Prince. As to the share Philippa of Hainault is said to have had in this business, it would be very easy to prove that her exchequer was not so amply provided to allow of any such senseless generosity.

¹ Du Tillet, *Rec.* p. 289, affirms that a considerable portion of this ransom was advanced by Charles V.; and Froissart, chap. ccxlv., leads us to believe that the duke of Anjou also contributed to the sum very largely.

which but awaited the gathering in the neighbouring provinces. France, in their eyes an inexhaustible mine of profitable adventure, in a few days beheld them ravaging her most fruitful fields and plundering her richest cities. The prince has been blamed for conniving at these ravages of the free companies in a country at peace with the principality; but there are no grounds for censuring him for them. It was imperative that he should get rid of them; and though he might be aware that wherever they went they would do all the mischief in their power, it was an evil he was totally unable to prevent.

The industrious classes in the principality must have been greatly relieved by the removal of these desperate marauders; but they were but a fraction in the political scale. The nobles were now to be propitiated, and as they were a very intractable body, and every thing depended on their co-operation with the government, both the prince and his council looked forward to an appeal to them with some little anxiety. The ever-intriguing Charles V. was still in secret doing every thing in his power to detach the principal nobles of Aquitaine from the interests of their prince. In a time of increased discontent, he seems to have seen additional chances of success; and the sagacity of Charles the Wise was exactly suited to turn such chances to the best account. The first sign we meet with of this kind of wisdom is in the marriage of Armand lord d'Albret, one of the most discontented of the Gascon lords, with the lady Marguerite de Bourbon, sister of the queen of France. The prince of Aquitaine, penetrating the motives which had caused this alliance, expressed himself very indignantly on the subject to the bridegroom; and though the latter found friends in the council, who endeavoured to excuse his conduct, his lord saw the affair in its proper light too clearly to be readily appeased.

The only feasible plan which presented itself for creating funds sufficient to satisfy the heavy demands which existed against the prince, seemed the levying of a tax on his subjects, and, as it would be necessary to render it as productive as possible without being par-

tial, it was desirable to have an impost which none could evade. On the consideration of this point, the prince and his advisers deliberated frequently, and the chancellor of Aquitaine (the bishop of Bath) recommended a tax of one franc on every chimney throughout the principality, which, as it had already been made familiar to some districts, under the title of "le fouage," it was determined to call a parliament to sanction its creation. An assembly of the notables was soon afterwards held at Niort, where the chancellor made known to them the nature of the impost, the necessity of its being called into operation, and begged their sanction to its being continued for five years, which would afford sufficient resources for the settlement of every claim. The deputies from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Roverge, and La Rochelle, expressed themselves in favour of a fouage, but there was a strong party from other parts of the principality who violently opposed its introduction. The king of France had evidently not been idle; for the first to denounce the tax was the lord d'Albret,¹ and he had, with his royal brother-in-law's assistance, obtained the co-operation of all the most powerful nobles in that part of the principality where his estates lay. From them no other answer could be procured than that they would return to their own country to consider what was best to be done, and would in full parliament deliver their opinions by a certain day then fixed upon;² but their intentions were of a very different character. As the first step in the rebellion which the intrigues of the French king had been so long endeavouring to effect, as soon as they got at a safe distance from the prince, they hastened to France, and on the 30th of June, 1368, before the king and his peers, denounced the conduct of the prince of Aquitaine, threw off their allegiance to him, and expressed their desire to return to the king of France as sovereign lord of the whole country.³

¹ CHRISTINO DE PISAN, chap. vii. part 2.

² FROISSART, chap. ccxliv.

³ "As no one knew better than the Gascon lords," says Mr. James (vol. ii. p. 313), "that Charles in his own person, as well as France under

The wisdom of Charles le Sage was now sufficiently manifest, but it was shewn at such a loss of all sense of honour and justice that it seems but another word for the basest treachery and meanness. The treaty of Bretigny to which he had solemnly sworn, with all the obligations it imposed, was totally disregarded; they seemed completely put out of sight, and he saw only the fair provinces which, through the valour of his heroic rival, had escaped from his grasp, with no difficulty in the way of their forced restoration beyond what was likely to be offered by their present possessor, who was now as deficient in warlike resources as in physical power to oppose him effectively. Charles had been too much frightened by the lion when in the full enjoyment of his health and strength, not to be desirous of insulting him when the ravages of disease had left him no longer formidable. On the 19th of July¹ he entered into a treaty with Henry of Transtamare, in which war was declared against Edward the Third; the prince of Aquitaine was of course the first object aimed at, and every possible care was taken by his crafty enemy that the aim should be sure. Charles had trustworthy information that while he was plotting his overthrow, death was daily making his design easier of accomplishment, and with such an ally he could not avoid feeling tolerably secure of success. The pretext for the war, the introduction of an obnoxious impost, was particularly ill chosen; for not only had the people (or their ancestors), by whom it was now opposed, paid the fouage several times, but it had been levied by the very power whose interference it was alleged they had sought to defend them from it.² In whatever way the conduct of Charles is regarded, it presents a mean, calculating

the sway of his father, had solemnly renounced all sovereignty and claim upon Aquitaine whatever, we cannot suppose that they would have taken the irretrievable step which they now determined, unless they had been well assured beforehand that the French monarch was willing and prepared to break his oath, and violate the most essential parts of the engagement he had entered into, now that that engagement was no longer necessary to his own security."

¹ RYMER *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 148.

² D. VAISSETTE, vol. iv.

spirit, whose fruits are a refined hypocrisy and cowardly revenge; and forms a remarkable contrast to the noble-mindedness and lofty courage of the heroic prince against whom it was directed. Charles proceeded, however, slowly and cautiously; by his agents in Aquitaine stirring up opposition to the collection of the tax—to which he was the more powerfully urged by knowing, that if the prince succeeded in obtaining the sum it was calculated to produce, it would, to a considerable extent, free him from his difficulties¹—seeking information in every quarter as to the power of the malcontents; seducing the principal nobles and knights of the d'Albret faction to his court, and securing them to his interests by costly gifts² and carefully worded treaties.³ He also entered into negotiations with some of the leaders of the free companies, whose assistance he succeeded in purchasing. But, whilst strengthening himself for offensive operations, he attempted to give a colour of justice to them before they were commenced; and the treaties and other documents, by which he was bound to secure to the king of England and his heirs the peaceful possession of Aquitaine, were diligently examined article by article, in hopes of discovering some loophole of escape. It is not surprising that the result

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxiv., says, that if it had been properly managed the fouage would have produced 1,200,000 francs.

² FROISSART, chap. ccxvi. This chronicler seems much more favourably inclined towards the French king than he deserves, but frequently, guarded as is his account of Charles's duplicity, some passages are pretty clearly expressed. Speaking of his conduct to the discontented Gascon lords he says, "In this manner he kept them in expectation for one year, detaining them privately at Paris; where besides paying all their expenses, he made them handsome presents, and gave them rich jewels. He, however, inquired secretly, whether in case the peace should be broken, and war with the English recommence, they would support him: they replied, that he ought not to be alarmed, nor prevented from carrying on the war in their country, as they were sufficiently able to make head against the prince, and the force he could employ. The king at the same time sounded those of Abbeville, if they would return to their allegiance, and become good Frenchmen: they desired nothing more earnestly than to do so, for much did they hate the English." Thus did the king of France acquire friends on all sides; otherwise he would not have dared to act as he did.

³ The treaty between the king of France and the revolted vassals of the prince of Aquitaine is preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, 8343.

of this scrutiny was an opinion that neither the king of England nor the prince of Wales had fulfilled the articles of the treaty of Bretigny, and that upon this and upon other points, the king of France and his subjects had good right and just cause to break the peace, to make war upon the English, and deprive them of the possessions they had on the French side of the sea.¹ All his preparations having been completed, he thought it time to throw off the mask; and few of the contemptible actions of this sovereign so clearly indicate his little-mindedness as the insulting manner in which he chose to declare war against the king of England and his son.

In the meantime the Black Prince continued in a very precarious state; his mind harassed by the increasing difficulties of his position, caused by the intrigues of the king of France, and his bodily vigour slowly wasting away beneath the influence of the disease he had carried with him from Spain. Neither mentally nor physically, therefore, was he in a condition to secure himself against the coming storm. He commenced the collection of the fouage, and, as is stated by Froissart, against the advice of his trusty counsellor Chandos. This measure, however unpopular it was made through the opposition of the d'Albret faction and their patron, was unfortunately one of dire necessity, and there is no evidence of any authority for believing that it was levied oppressively. He had previously held several parliaments, where the impost was allowed with scarcely any opposition,² and as his refractory vassals would not attend them when summoned, and declared they would not suffer such a tax to be levied on their lands, it is unreasonable to suppose he would allow himself to be driven from his object by their menaces when supported by the rest of the principality.

Charles le Sage seems to have kept his hostile pre-

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxlv.

² The nobles and knights whose lands lay nearest to the prince's court, and were not so accessible to the French king's intrigues, usually distinguished as belonging to the lower marches, "as of Bourdelois, Saintonge, Poitou, and Rochellois, readily agreed to the matter."—BARNES, p. 729.

parations a secret from the prince's council. When it became known at Bordeaux in the month of February 1369, that a certain French knight, accompanied by a lawyer, had presented themselves at the prince's lodging in the abbey of St. Andrew, declaring that they were the bearers of a message from the king of France to the prince, no one appears to have had any knowledge of their business. An audience was easily procured for them, for the general impression was that the intelligence they had to communicate was of a friendly character; but after shewing their credentials, and receiving a courteous reception, the lawyer opened and read aloud a summons from the king of France to the prince of Aquitaine, to appear before him, to answer the complaints of certain individuals of Gascony and Aquitaine, who acknowledged the jurisdiction of the French king.

The surprise and indignation of the prince at receiving such an insult so unexpectedly, it is not difficult to imagine. The ravages of disease had not tamed his fiery spirit, and when the lawyer had finished his task, he exclaimed, "Ay! we will attend right willingly at Paris, since the king of France hath sent for us, but, assure yourselves, it shall be with our helmet on our head and with a retinue of 60,000 men." On the messengers appearing frightened, he said his wrath was not excited against them, but against their employer. "Your king has been ill advised," he added, "thus to take the part of our subjects, and to wish to make himself judge of what he has nothing to do with, nor any right to interfere in. It shall be very clearly shewn to him, that in rendering up and putting the king my father in possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, he surrendered all jurisdiction over it for him and his heirs for ever; and those, therefore, who have applied to him can have no other court of appeal than that of England and to our lord and father: it shall cost 100,000 lives ere it shall be otherwise!" Saying this, the prince abruptly left them. They made what haste they could to get out of the principality, but it was represented to the prince that they were hastening to the duke of Anjou, who

would make fine sport of the successful manner in which this intolerable affront had been publicly put upon him in his own palace, and that it was necessary the king of France should be taught, by a proper treatment of his agents, that he would not endure any indignity at his hands. The prince would not hear of the messengers being killed, but he gave directions that they should be pursued. They were overtaken, and by a *ruse* of their captors induced to return, and then imprisoned in the castle of Agen.¹

This spirited conduct of the Black Prince created in the politic king of France an apprehension that he had been too precipitate. His fears presented to him the hero he had dared to insult, with 60,000 of his invincible men-at-arms marching upon his capital. The consequence was that many months passed by before the effect of the prince's threat ceased. Though Charles delayed commencing hostilities, he made every effort to increase his resources, that he might be as secure as possible when he should determine on striking a decisive blow. In his selfish calculations the most prominent were the expected return of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin from the war in Spain,² and the hope held out to him by his numerous spies of the speedy death of the Black Prince. Charles le Sage dwelt on every symptom of increased weakness in his illustrious enemy with more pleasure than he looked on an accession of strength in his own forces. But though he took no decisive step himself, he gave every encouragement and assistance to the Gascon rebels, and, most pro-

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxlviii.

² The dispute of the rival claimants to the throne of Castile was decided by Henry of Trastamare stabbing Don Pedro in a brutal scuffle which took place between them in the tent of du Guesclin, by whom Don Pedro had been taken prisoner, and betrayed to his brother in an abominably treacherous manner. At least, this is the account of the Spanish historians, whom we should expect to be well informed on the subject. Froissart fixes the odium of the transaction on another, but he might have been disposed to screen Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who is a favourite object of his eulogy. As the latter received from Don Henry 120,000 gold florins, and Soria, Almazan, Atiença, Montéagudo, and Seron, with their dependencies, he was amply paid, whatever was the nature of his services.—FERRENAS, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. v. p. 414.

babably at his instigation the war was commenced by them, with an ambuscade of 300 lances, into which fell Sir Thomas Wake, when proceeding with sixty lances to examine for his prince the strength of the castle of Rhodéz. Sir Thomas and a few others managed to escape, but the rest, after a gallant resistance, were either slain or taken prisoners.

As soon as intelligence of this unequal conflict reached the prince, he determined on chastising the nobles and knights who had thus openly set themselves in rebellion against him, and for this purpose he sent for Sir John Chandos who was quietly residing on his estate at St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin. The gallant Chandos was quickly at his post with a strong force, and, assisted by the Captal de Buch and several other loyal gentlemen, defended the frontiers, and attacked the partisans of d'Albret wherever he could find them. The prince also had recourse to the free companies, and succeeded in securing the services of some; but the majority went to the party which promised the amplest recompense. Much changing of sides took place amongst them. Several who had served the prince went over to the king of France, and others abandoned the French service to range themselves on the side of their favourite leader the Black Prince,¹ who also received assistance from his father, in the shape of a considerable force of men-at-arms and cross-bowmen, headed by his younger brother Edmund, of Langley, earl of Cambridge, and John Hastings, earl of Pembroke. They, however, were not despatched in time to save Ponthieu. The strong towns in this province were treacherously surrendered to the enemy, who, with an overpowering force, in a few days made themselves masters of the whole country.

Sir Guiscard d'Angle marched from Avignon, where he had been sent on a mission, and Sir Hugh Calverly hurried from the borders of Arragon, where he was on his return from the wars in Spain, when the news reached them of the renewal of the war with

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccliv.

France. Each had with him a detachment which it was of the utmost importance to the prince's cause he should bring unbroken to his assistance, and in the present state of things the safe return of either to Aquitaine seemed impossible, from the hostile feeling of the lords of the country through which they were obliged to pass. Nevertheless, both succeeded by stratagem in joining the prince at Angoulême.

Finding himself thus possessed of an army of several thousand men, he despatched them in several divisions where he thought their services were most required; one under Sir John Chandos ravaged the lands of the principal rebel lords at Moutauban; another led, by Sir Hugh Calverly, was no less active in another direction; and a third, still more considerable, under the earl of Cambridge, besieged the strong fortress of Bordesilles. But where the prince of Wales could place a hundred men, his enemies had a thousand ready to oppose them, and by means of their spies they gained instant intelligence of his movements, and frequently fell upon detached parties with a power which was sure to secure them an easy victory. In this way the prince met with several losses, but one which grieved him most was when his faithful companion-in-arms, Sir Simon Burley, with a mere handful of gallant adventurers, was set upon by a force of 500 men. A few escaped, many perished after a spirited contest, and Sir Simon was surrounded and taken prisoner.¹ Some satisfaction for this loss was obtained by Sir John Chandos and Sir Guiscard d'Angle, in taking by storm the strong town of Ferrrières in Toulousin, after a desperate resistance. This was neutralised by the loss of the town of Realville in Quercy, which was besieged and taken by the enemy, who had an army in the neighbourhood of 15,000 fighting men, and, meeting with a determined defence from the English garrison, after the capture of the place they slaughtered them to a man.

Another celebrated soldier, Sir Eustace d'Ambreti-

¹ Sir Simon was a short time afterwards exchanged for the duchess de Bourbon, who had been taken prisoner by a party of the free companies.

court, joined the Black Prince about this time ; soon after which he was sent to reinforce Sir John Chandos and the Captal de Buch, with whom he did good service. That approved soldier, the lord James Audley, then seneschal of Poitou, exerted himself in his lord's behalf with a success worthy of his brilliant reputation, for leading a force of 1200 lances, among which were many distinguished knights of Poitou, together with the seneschal of Saintonge, they rode through Berry, where they did what mischief they could to the enemy ; then returning to Saintonge, they punished in a similar manner the lord de Chauvigny, one of the most obnoxious partisans of the French king ; and then after a fierce attack, took by assault Brux, his chief town. But of all the celebrated captains who came to take service under him, none were welcomed by the Black Prince with so much honour as Sir Robert Knolles, who, though he had retired from the perils and honours of war to a splendid estate in Brittany, when he heard that the son of his king was hard pressed by his enemies the French, buckled on his armour, got together his retainers, and presented himself at Angoulême with all possible speed. Both the prince and the princess were much gratified at this instance of the gallant soldier's devotion, and by every means in their power shewed him how high he stood in their regard. He was immediately appointed captain of the knights and squires of the prince's household, who were ordered, and willingly promised, to pay him the same obedience they paid the prince. But it was not in the nature of Sir Robert Knolles to remain idle, nor did the prince desire it ; for in a few days he despatched him at the head of all the fighting men that could be spared, in the direction of Quercy. His first success was a bloodless one, though one of considerable importance, for it was the detaching from the duke of Anjou's service a noted leader of the free companies, Sir Perdiccas d'Albret, with 500 Gascons, to strengthen his own force. After this he pushed forward, and sat down before a strong place, in which the enemy were in formidable numbers,

called Durnel. Here he was shortly afterwards joined by Sir John Chandos and his companions, to their mutual gratification. But, partly owing to the inclemency of the weather, and partly to a great dearth of forage and provision, they were forced to raise the siege. They then presented themselves before the strong castle of Domme, upon which also, after several unsuccessful assaults, they found they could make no impression. The commanders sent a herald¹ to the prince of Wales, stating their situation, and requesting instructions, and in his absence raised the siege, and proceeded in an incursion more into the country, doing much mischief, and taking, among other places, Gramat, Frons, Roquemadour, and Villefranche. In the meantime the force before Bordeilles, under the earl of Cambridge, pressed the siege of that place, which was of considerable strength, and was defended with great gallantry. It continued for upwards of nine weeks, when Bordeilles was taken by assault. The inhabitants of all these towns and fortresses swore fealty to the prince of Aquitaine, and received governors or captains from their conquerors.

The herald, who had been sent from the castle of Domme, found the prince at Angoulême. He heard his statement, and sent him back with a message, desiring the return of Sir John Chandos, Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and the Captal de Buch, who were to leave Sir Robert Knolles to carry on the war; but Sir Robert could not be brought to take the command, deprived of the assistance of such distinguished commanders; and consequently, after leaving full directions with the army to continue the campaign, they all proceeded together to Angoulême. Here also returned the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke from a no less successful expedition. The prince received them with great satisfaction, and entertained them for several days very sumptuously; but they rested not long inactive. In a short time they were actively besieging the strong town of La Roche sur You in Poitou, which they

¹ His name was Chandos; there is an historical romance in French by John Chandos Herald, reciting the actions of the Black Prince.

succeeded in obtaining. Sir John Chandos collected all the force he could muster for a grand expedition, and sent an invitation to the young earl of Pembroke to join him, but the earl being persuaded by his friends that a junction with a commander, who was merely a knight banneret, would do him no honour, sent his excuses. Sir John Chandos, however, was not the man to abandon a project because a young and almost undistinguished soldier did not choose to fight in his company; so with 300 lances, knights, and squires,¹ and 200 archers, he took the field, passing through the province of Poitou and penetrating Anjou, where he did the enemy incalculable mischief. When at Chauvigny in Poitou, having received information that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, with a great body of men, were at La Haye in Touraine, he formed the bold project of attacking him; but not having a sufficient force, he despatched a herald to the earl of Pembroke, again requesting his co-operation. The young earl was at Montagne, at the point of setting out on an expedition, of which he expected to reap the whole honour—as it was to be entirely under his own control—and he again declined. Chandos lamented greatly the pride and presumption which had led to this decision, and finding that he could not undertake the adventure by himself, dismissed the greater portion of his force.

The young noble soon afterwards led his men into the same part of the country Sir John Chandos had visited, but the enemy were perfectly aware of the difference of the two commanders, and took such measures, that on lord Pembroke's return, they surprised him in a village at which he was halting his men in that careless state that might be expected from such a leader, and they came upon him with a force so overpowering that a great portion of his detachment

¹ Amongst these were several knights who were much better soldiers than the earl of Pembroke. Lord Thomas Percy, lord Thomas Spencer, and the earl of Angus, with Sirs Richard de Pontchardon, Eustace d'Ambreticourt, Richard Taunton, Nele Loring, Thomas Banaster, John Trivet, William de Montendre, Manbris de Livieres, and Geoffrey d'Argenton.—FROISSART, chap. cclxx.

were cut to pieces, and he saved himself and the remainder only by retreating to an embattled house, which they fortified and defended as well as they could. A messenger was secretly despatched to the lately contemned Sir John Chandos to acquaint him with the perilous situation in which they were placed, and to request him to march without delay to their relief. But Sir John seemed to take the earl of Pembroke's message very carelessly. Another messenger arrived with a more urgent appeal; but he obtained no more regard than the other. In a short time, however, the truly noble spirit of the man cast off the natural indignation he felt for the slight that had been put upon him, and though he was sitting down to dinner, he gave the order for all his force to accompany him. The trumpets sounded to arms, and in a few minutes they were in full gallop to the rescue of the young earl and his companions.

It was quite sufficient for the enemy to know that so admirable a soldier was in full march upon them to cause their hasty retreat, and Chandos met the earl of Pembroke and his men before he could reach the scene in which they had been placed in such extreme peril, that it was impossible they could have defended themselves much longer. Chandos deeply regretted the escape of the Frenchmen, but received the young nobleman—on whom, it is to be hoped, the lesson he had taught him was not thrown away—with marked cordiality. After a friendly converse they separated; Sir John returning to Poitiers, and the earl to Montagne, whence he afterwards proceeded to Angoulême, where he was handsomely entertained by the prince. He subsequently started on a fresh adventure with a much more considerable force, accompanied by Sir Hugh Calverly, who had just returned from a successful expedition, in which he had despoiled the country of the earl of Armagnac, one of the chief rebels. He took the road towards Anjou with 500 lances, 300 archers, and 1500 foot-soldiers, armed with pikes and shields, where he did much damage, and made several conquests.

But, notwithstanding a diversion in favour of the prince of Aquitaine was made, at this time, by an invasion of France, with an army from England, led by the duke of Lancaster, the prince's commanders found sufficient work for them ; and the revolted lords, either by stratagem or treachery, gained important advantages. One of these was the betrayal of the abbey of St. Salvin, near Poitiers, by one of the brotherhood, which was immediately converted into a strong fortress. A place of this kind well garrisoned by the enemy in the very heart of his government was an eyesore to Sir John Chandos—lately created seneschal of Poitiers, on the retirement of the lord Audley—and he made many bold attempts to obtain possession of it ; but they were without success, for the governor, Sir Louis de St. Julien, took every precaution against surprise. On the eve of the new year, 1370, Sir John summoned the Poitevins to attend him on an expedition, which they readily obeyed, as he was exceedingly popular amongst them, and to the number of 300 lances, among whom were several distinguished knights, they left Poitiers in the night, with scaling ladders, and every thing necessary for an escalade. None but the chief captains knew the object of the adventure, but as they approached St. Salvin all became fully aware of it. About midnight they halted near the fortress, and, dismounting and leaving their horses with their grooms, they descended into the ditch. They would probably have succeeded in their attempt, had not, at this very moment, a small force of the enemy under Carnet le Breton, an adventurer of some note, approached the fortress on the other side to invite the governor to join them in an expedition to be undertaken the next day ; and when the guard observed them, he blew his horn. Sir John Chandos, imagining he was discovered, drew off his men, and retreated to Chauvigny, where he dismissed most of his companions ; and remained, very much depressed in spirits, on account of his failure, at an hostel in the town.

He was at last roused to exertion by intelligence that the French were abroad—though he at first seemed

indisposed to move, so great was his dejection; and with the small detachment that remained with him he started in pursuit. It appears that an inconsiderable force under the lord Thomas Percy, which had formed part of his 300 lances, had preceded him on the very road by which he was advancing, who had been followed by the French in much greater strength; and the latter were on the point of endeavouring to force their passage over the bridge of Lussac, which the lord Percy defended, when Sir John Chandos came upon them. Unfortunately the height of the bridge in the centre prevented lord Percy and his men perceiving the approach of their commander. The brave Chandos was, as usual, too impetuous to charge the enemy, to see if assistance was at hand; and with extraordinary vigour he attacked the enemy's superior ranks. He is described as advancing with his banner before him, sword in hand, bearing on his helmet as a crest the head of a warrior, surrounded with a white wreath, having his vizor up,¹ dressed in a loose robe of satin, which fell to the ground, on which his arms were emblazoned at his breast and on his back. There had been a hoar frost that morning, which made the ground very slippery; and, as he laid about him with all his force, his feet got entangled in his robe. He stumbled and fell, at which moment one of his foes thrust at him with his lance near the eye, and the weapon penetrated his brain, so that he lay unable to move and in great agony. The French strove to get possession of his body, but his uncle, Sir Edward Clifford, strode over it, and assisted by several other brave knights, who were no less devoted to their commander, fought like madmen for its preservation. The battle might have been quickly decided in favour of these heroic men had the lord Percy come to their assistance, but not being attacked as he had expected, he marched his men away, and the defenders of the gallant Chandos were eventually overpowered and made prisoners. The Bretons, however, were no

¹ *True Use of Armory in the Life of the Lord Chandos*, p. 101.

great gainers from their victory, for at the first appearance of Chandos and his men, the grooms, who had been left in charge of their horses whilst they attacked the lord Percy, fled as quickly as those steeds could carry them; so that now they could not remove their prisoners or themselves. At this instant another body of the original force of Sir John Chandos approaching, the victors, to save their own lives, acknowledged themselves prisoners to those they had so lately made captives.¹

This detachment was almost entirely composed of Poitevins, who, when they saw their gallant seneschal in so hopeless a condition, were almost frantic. "Flower of knighthood!" cried one of their leaders, regarding him most piteously. "Oh Sir John Chandos, cursed be the forging of that lance which hath reduced so noble a spirit to death's door!" Others gathered round, making very sorrowful lamentations, and the members of his own household were so moved that they wrung their hands, tore their hair, and uttered the most doleful cries. The dying hero could reply only by his groans. He was gently disarmed and borne on shields by his weeping friends to a neighbouring fort called Mortemar; but he never spoke again, and expired in about four-and-twenty hours. "God have mercy on his soul!" exclaims the chronicler of this touching scene, "for never since a hundred years did there exist amongst the English one more courteous, nor so bountifully possessed of every good quality."²

Sir John Chandos was one of the noblest specimens of the heroic character, that existed when the Black Prince, his example and friend, was acknowledged throughout Christendom, "the glass of fashion and the mould of form," of chivalric virtue. No less dauntless in battle than wise in council, he united qualities of head and heart rarely associated in a soldier of the fourteenth century.³ His abilities as a

¹ FROISSART.

² FROISSART, chap. cclxxviii.

³ Rich. Dinothi *Adversaria Historica, De Viris Illustribus*, p. 95.

commander, both king Edward and his son, the best judges of such qualifications then to be met with, highly appreciated; and at the wish of both he became the prince's instructor in the art of war, fighting by his side in the fields of Cressy and Poitiers, and giving him such excellent advice as secured those glorious victories to the arms of England. He won the battle of Auray under circumstances that proved his abilities as a general. To the success of the Spanish war he contributed in a no less eminent degree, distinguishing himself at every opportunity in the most brilliant eminence. He was at all times the chief pillar on which rested the true glory of his prince, who delighted to shew the sense he entertained of his great worth, and by him he was created seneschal of Poitiers; the duties of which office he performed as admirably as he had done those he had previously undertaken, preserving the peasants from military license, and keeping up amongst his soldiers a rigid discipline. He was mild and courteous to all men, and just even to his enemies; careful of the people whom he guarded, and devoted to the prince he served. To the latter he left all his property in Normandy, which was of the annual property of 4000*l.* sterling; and his lands of St. Sauveur le Vicomte became the property of king Edward, who bestowed them upon Sir Alan Boxhull. The vacant seneschalship fell to the lord Thomas Percy. He had never been married, and the heirs to his property in England were two sisters and the only daughter of a third.¹

The news of his death appears to have been re-

¹ He was buried at Mortemar, with the following inscription placed over his tomb:—

“ Je Jehan Chandault, des Anglois capitaine,
Fort chevalier, de Poictou sénéchal
Après avoir fait guerre tres lointaine
Au rois François, tant à pied qu' à cheval,
Et puis Bertrand de Guesclin en un val,
Les Poitevins pres Lussac, me different,
A Mortemer, mon corps enterre firént,
En un cercueil élevé tout de neuf,
L'an mil trois cens avec soixante neuf.”

Les Annales d'Aquitaine par Bouchet.

ceived with deep regret, not only throughout Aquitaine and England but in France, and wherever the reputation of this brave and good man had extended. The Black Prince was inconsolable, and he and the chiefs of his council could not withhold from themselves the conviction that now they were deprived of the gallant Chandos, they had lost all on their side the sea. Unfortunately this had not been the only irreparable loss the prince had lately sustained. The noble Audley, a congenial spirit, had been so affected by the death of his son in battle, that he returned to England to live in retirement; and nearly about the same time her unhappy son had to mourn the decease of the incomparable Philippa of Hainault. These were heavy blows at any time; but in the distressing state in which he was dragging out his existence, they came upon him with a crushing effect. His enemies were not slow in endeavouring to take every possible advantage of his despondency and want of resources; and the French king and his allies were concentrating their forces for one overpowering attack upon the principality. At this period king Edward, evidently as a last resource, but certainly, in the state of affairs, a hopeless one, issued a document annulling the fougage, and offering a free pardon to such of the insurgents as would return to their allegiance within a month. It is dated "at our palace of Westminster, the 5th day of November in the forty-fourth year of our reign."¹

Copies of this letter were despatched to all the principal insurgents at Paris, as well as to the knights and nobles of Aquitaine, who still remained loyal to their prince; but it effected nothing favourable to his cause, and most probably was employed by the d'Albret faction as an acknowledgment of the justice of their quarrel, and a condemnation of the conduct of the

¹ FROISSART, chap. cclxxx. This document is not in the *Fadera*, nor are there to be found there several other historical papers known to exist elsewhere; so that its being unknown to Rymer is not sufficient evidence to throw a doubt upon its genuineness. There seems, however, to be some question as to the correctness of the date. The forty-fourth of Edward being the year 1370, in the month of which year the duke of Lancaster was in Aquitaine.

prince of Wales. The levying of the *fouage*, the ostensible cause of the revolt, was a mere pretence; had this been abandoned at the desire of those who were most opposed to it, they would very shortly have found some other pretext for throwing off their allegiance; for the supremacy of England had from the first been distasteful to them, and they only wanted, what they had obtained, the encouragement of the French king to return to their feudal condition under him, as it had been previous to the treaty of Bretigny. If any good was to be derived from the publication of this letter, it should have been issued at a much earlier stage of the war.

Charles le Sage, seeing he had now the game in his own hands, in the chamber of peers confiscated the principality and all that king Edward and the Black Prince possessed on that side the sea, and summoned the vassals to pay him homage as their only legitimate lord,¹ which before long produced results to the prejudice of the prince's cause. There was a meeting at Paris of the French princes to organise a combined attack upon the Black Prince in the campaign about to commence; and the most extensive preparations were made to secure its complete success—their last act being to recall Sir Bertrand *dû Guesclin*; and the better to induce him to exert himself against the English, he was promised the dignity of constable of France. He was not dilatory in obeying such a summons, and shortly afterwards joined the duke of Anjou at Toulouse, where a large force, amounting to 2000 lances and 6000 foot, of which Sir Bertrand was appointed to the command, were assembled ready to commence offensive operations. They directed their march through the *Agénois*, and were very shortly joined by 1000 of the free companies. With such an army, *du Guesclin* could have found no difficulty in taking *Moissac*—a town in *Quercy*—*Agen*, *Port St. Marie*, *Tonneins*, *Montpezat*, and *Aiguillon*. At the same time an army of 1200 lances and 3000 footmen, under

¹ *Du Chesne*, p. 705.

the command of the duke de Berri, invaded the Limousin and advanced to besiege the city of Limoges. The prince of Wales received information of these expeditions whilst at Angoulême, and that the two princes intended forming a conjunction to besiege him where he was. This made him exclaim that his enemies should never find him shut up in town or castle, and express his intention to take the field immediately. Summonses were sent to all on whom he could depend, to meet him at Cognac, in which direction he set off with his family, and, there arrived, busied himself in collecting his forces with a spirit worthy of his best days.

In the meantime Sir Bertrand was pushing forward his army, having with him the principal malcontents, the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the count de Perigord, and others, who came before Linde, a strong town in the Dordogne, lately reinforced. Du Guesclin found it easier to gain admission with gold than with steel, and the governor, Sir Thonius de Batefol, having a disposition for treachery—a weapon to the skilful use of which the French were greatly indebted—arrangements were made for betraying the town. Secretly as these negotiations were carried on, they became known to some gentlemen in the garrison, who were of a different stamp to their governor. They privately took horse and gave notice to Sir Thomas Felton and the Captal de Buch, then at Bergerac, about a league distant, who had just received a visit from the earl of Cambridge with 200 lances. A strong party started from Bergerac a little after midnight, and managed to get to Linde, at the very moment Sir Thonius was opening the gates to the French. He was instantly run through the body by the sword of Sir Thomas Felton, and died a much nobler death than he deserved; and his assistants in treason were wise enough to deny any inclination towards the action they had seen so promptly punished. The party to whom the town was to have been surrendered made a rapid retreat when they observed the banners of the Captal de Buch and Sir Thomas Felton; and finding

that these brave knights chose to remain where they were, Sir Bertrand and his friend the duke of Anjou thought proper to raise the siege and go elsewhere.

For the former the king of France found that he had work where his talents in corrupting his enemies might perhaps be turned to better account, and where the necessity of employing his abilities as a general was much more pressing than it could be in his present position; Sir Bertrand, therefore, was commanded to repair without the least delay to his sovereign, and on obeying the summons, found that he had been called upon to repel an invasion of France by a well-appointed force, under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, who had been despatched from England by king Edward in hopes of creating a powerful diversion in favour of his son. Sir Robert had landed at Calais, and had pursued his march into France in most gallant style, laying contributions as he passed for sparing the country from fire and sword.¹ He entered Artois and Picardy, and pressed forward, obtaining plenty of supplies and doing much mischief, till the fires which marked his progress could be seen from the walls of Paris. Charles le Sage now began to fear he had not been so wise as his courtiers were ready to allow; and when the English army were at the very gates of his capital he could not disguise his apprehensions. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin on his arrival at Paris received an abundance of favours from the anxious monarch, and was invested with the office of constable of the kingdom, and told to collect all the forces that could be mustered, and to do whatever he thought most advisable to get rid of the terrible Sir Robert Knolles and his formidable army.

Assisted by the lord de Clisson, an inveterate enemy of the English, the new-made constable began collecting his men, but he did not neglect looking for the means of that more secure, though less honourable, mode of attack, which had been found so advanta-

¹ His compounding with the enemy in this way was afterwards made an accusation against him, and he did not escape without paying a heavy fine.

geous to the French arms. He discovered a traitor fit for his purpose in Sir John Menstreworth, who betrayed the secrets of his commander, and did all in his power to embarrass his movements. Sir Robert Knolles hearing that Sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the lord de Clisson were about to take the field against him, sent messages to all the leaders of detachments, within a distance of several miles, to join him, for the purpose of meeting the Frenchmen; and there can be but little doubt, from the feeling which prevailed amongst them to meet the enemy, that, had he collected the force he required, so experienced a commander as Knolles would have changed the aspect of the war altogether. But treachery this time decided the contest, for a party of 200 lances were suddenly set upon by 400, commanded by du Guesclin, at a place called Pont-Valin, as they were proceeding to join Sir Robert Knolles. As usual, though taken unprepared, and opposed by more than two to one, the English fought most determinedly, and only gave over the contest when resistance was useless. Many were slain, and the rest taken prisoners, for the grooms having fled with the horses, when they thought the day was going against their masters, left them no chance of escape.¹

This disaster seems to have completely dispirited the different commanders who were to have joined Sir Robert Knolles. Whether they anticipated the treachery of which their friends had been made the victims, or were not sufficiently satisfied with Knolles as a leader, cannot now be ascertained, but they all went different ways, and no enterprise of any moment was attempted by either of them. Du Guesclin returned with his prisoners in great triumph to Paris,

¹ The traitor by whose information to the constable his companions had been entrapped, subsequently paid the forfeit of his crime. The historians of Brittany make out another discreditable charge against du Guesclin; for they assert that Sir Robert Knolles, immediately previous to the ambuscade, sent him a herald demanding a general battle, and that the constable caused the messenger to be so plied with liquor as to be unable to return to the English camp till the treacherous surprise had been effected.

where an exploit of which such men as Chandos and Audley would have been ashamed, was regarded as a marvellous proof of valour and good soldiership. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin achieved a splendid reputation ; but if its materials are carefully examined, they will be found to contain very little of true greatness. When, with a most important superiority in military resources, he was opposed to such generals as the Black Prince and Sir John Chandos, he received the most signal discomfitures ; and if his fame rests upon his successes over the English in this war, there is in it no great matter to boast of, for they had been deprived of their most distinguished leaders, and their illustrious chief was in a state of mind and body that precluded all proper exertion. There seems, also, in his character a tendency towards trickery and deception, as weapons of offence against an enemy such as a true hero would never stoop to. The battle of Pont Valin is a fair example of his victories—they look very contemptible compared with a Cressy, a Poitiers, and a Najara. Nevertheless, the French have held him up to the admiration of posterity as a sort of demi-god, and his biographers have given him attributes which are to be found only in the combined accomplishments of the Seven Champions of Christendom. Unfortunately for this hero, one half of their statements are known to be false, and the value of the rest may, therefore, very easily be guessed at.

The distinguished soldier, with whom he was unworthily raised to the dignity of a rival, had before this time collected his men, and reinforced from England by a body of men-at-arms and archers, under the command of his brothers, the dukes of Lancaster and Cambridge, was on the point of taking the field, when he received intelligence of the fall of Limoges, through the treachery of the bishop, who had been induced to betray the place into the hands of the French. This treason was the more intolerable, as the prelate had been for a considerable period the personal friend and adviser of the Black Prince, and had been the godfather of one of his sons. The ingratitude of the traitor

stung the prince to the quick. He swore by the soul of his father—an oath peculiarly impressive with him—he would have the town back again; that he would not attend to any thing till this had been accomplished; and that he would make the inhabitants pay dearly for their treachery. With 1200 lances,¹ knights and esquires, 1000 archers, and 1000 footmen, the Black Prince set off from Cognac in a litter—for he was unable, from weakness, to mount a horse—and in due time took up a position threatening Limoges. He had sent before him a herald, commanding the people to return to their allegiance and expel the French garrison; but, too confident in their ability to withstand any attack, they refused to open their gates, and treated the messenger with indignity. So terrible was his reputation, that the whole country was alarmed when it was known that he had taken the field, and the traitors in the beleaguered town began to tremble for the consequences of their crime. It was some consolation for them that their defences were unusually strong, and the garrison in sufficient numbers to hold the town against any force the enraged prince could bring to its walls. Edward having carefully examined the state of Limoges, surrounded it, and determined on an attack by the slow process of mining. For a month he carried on his proceedings, from which he was not to be drawn by any manœuvre of the enemy. At last he was informed that every thing was ready for an assault. Early in the morning, an explosion in the mines threw down a great portion of the wall into the ditch, and through this breach the prince's soldiers rushed with an impetuosity that carried every thing before them. Inflamed by the treachery of the inhabitants and their insolent behaviour to the herald, and desirous of retaliating for the indiscriminate slaughter committed by the French and their allies in such places as they took by assault, the soldiers of the Black Prince slew all they met, without distinction as to sex or age. Such as attempted a defence were speedily overpowered or

¹ WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 180.

beaten back, and the non-combatants fared no better if they got in the way of the attacking party. Edward of Woodstock, carried in his litter, passed through the streets heedless of the crowds who begged for mercy; and on the arch-traitor, the bishop, being brought before him, after having been dragged out of his palace, the prince indignantly ordered him out of his presence, declaring he would make him shorter by a head.¹

A small band of Frenchmen still held out before an old wall, and Sir John de Villemur, Sir Hugh de la Roche, and Roger de Beaufort—son of the governor, the count de Beaufort—having distinguished themselves amongst them, they were singled out by three of the noblest knights who accompanied the prince, the duke of Lancaster opposing Sir John, the earl of Cambridge Sir Hugh, and the earl of Pembroke fought with Roger de Beaufort, though the latter was of no higher dignity than a squire. The combat was very ably contested; the Frenchmen at last allowing themselves vanquished, and begging to be dealt with in accordance with the law of arms, which was readily granted. The prince, who had beheld the scene as he was passing that way in his litter, was so well pleased with the gallantry of the Frenchmen, that he ordered the slaughter to cease. Nevertheless, the town was given up to pillage and then totally destroyed, to serve as a lasting monument of the consequences of treachery.

It is impossible to justify this severe retaliation on the people of Linnoges; but their sovereign had suffered so frequently from the crime of which they had been guilty, under peculiarly aggravating circumstances, that a severe and striking example appears to have been called for. The benevolent character of the prince, so conspicuous on so many occasions, has suffered severely in this instance, in consequence of his allowing his indignation to overpower his better feelings; but, inhuman as his conduct may now be regarded, it cannot be denied that, according to the military laws of the fourteenth

¹ He was ultimately released from his imprisonment, through the influence of the duke of Lancaster.

century, Limoges, by its treacherous surrender to the enemy, and unworthy treatment of the herald sent to warn the inhabitants of the consequences of their not immediately returning to their duty, fully deserved the signal punishment it received.¹ Every individual possessed of ordinary humanity must regret the share Edward of Woodstock had in such a transaction, but it ought not to be regarded as exhibiting that ferocity of disposition which some critics have endeavoured to fix upon his memory—rather should it be looked upon as the effect of repeated insults and a heavy accumulation of wrongs upon a generous nature, driven out of the admirable path in which his career had hitherto been pursued.

Let it have been, however, what it might, it was an expiring effort, for his illness greatly increased upon him on his return to Cognac, arising, no doubt, from two misfortunes which happened about this time, both of which must have deeply affected him; the one being the dispersion of his forces under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, of which he now received the intelligence, and the other the loss of his eldest son, prince Edward, who died at Bordeaux at the commencement of the year 1371, in his seventh year, having evinced, thus early, such graces of disposition and indications of talent as to make his loss almost too grievous to be borne. The medical attendants of the Black Prince now urged upon him the necessity of trying his native air. It will readily be believed that there was little in the principality to make him reluctant to quit it. To him it had been little better than a pompous mausoleum, which had been preparing for the interment of the glories he had elsewhere achieved. He was advised to avoid it while the opportunity was within his reach; and the first, and most influential of such advisers, was no doubt the amiable and afflicted mother, who, finding it had already become the sepul-

¹ In his own time the capture of Limoges was regarded as one of the prince's greatest triumphs, and is thus distinguished by the Latin contemporary chronicler, the quaint translation of which, among the Harleian MSS., has already been referred to.

chre of one of the dearest objects of her affections, it is but reasonable to suppose was impressed with the dread that it might contain all.

The prince listened to the wishes of his best friends; but, whilst making preparations for his departure from Aquitaine, he did not fail to enter into the best arrangements at his disposal for its government in his absence. He issued a special summons to all the barons and knights of Gascony and Poitou, and to all the others over whom he was lord, or who acknowledged his superiority, to assemble at Bordeaux, where he addressed them in his hall of audience, to this effect: "During the time I have been your prince I have always maintained you in peace, prosperity, and power, as far as depended on me, against all your enemies; but now, in the hope of recovering my health, of which I have great need, I intend to return to England: I therefore, beseech you earnestly, to put your faith in, and to serve, and obey, my brother, the duke of Lancaster, as you have before served and obeyed me: you will find him a good and courteous lord, and I beg of you to aid and assist him in all his affairs." The assembly swore upon their faith and loyalty to serve the duke of Lancaster and never to desert him; to whom they immediately performed the feudal ceremony of homage, by kissing him in the mouth.¹

Shortly afterwards the prince of Wales, accompanied by the princess and his remaining son, and attended by the earl of Pembroke and more than 500 combatants, set sail from Bordeaux in a well-appointed fleet, and meeting with favourable weather, in due time landed at Southampton. It is only the exile of many years with his best energies prematurely exhausted by disease, who can imagine the gratification the dying hero received at the sight of his native land. The fresh breezes from its white cliffs seemed to invigorate a spirit worn down by trials innumerable. Aquitaine and all the crushing troubles its government had brought upon him, were forgotten in the gladdening

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxciv.

conviction that he was once more in the land where he had neither turbulent vassal nor treacherous friend, envious rival nor malignant enemy ; where, retiring to the sweet seclusion of the haunts of his youth, out of reach of all the evils that had so cruelly afflicted his latter years, he might hope to find a medicine equally beneficial for mind and body, comforted and restored by which he could live out the eve of his manhood, in the power to add to the greatness which had so nobly distinguished its dawn.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Black Prince proceeds in a Litter to Windsor—Sentiments with which his Appearance is regarded by the People of England—His Reception by the King—He Retires to his Palace at Berkhamstead—Proceedings of the Duke of Lancaster in Aquitaine—His Ambition and Jealousy of his brother Prince Edward—Leaves the Principality—The King sends the Earl of Pembroke there as a Governor, with Supplies—The Earl with a few small Vessels encounters a powerful Spanish Fleet—He is taken Prisoner—Efforts of Edward the Third to raise an Army for the relief of the besieged City of Thouars—The Black Prince assists in the Preparations for War—Richard of Bordeaux acknowledged in Parliament his Successor—The Prince Accompanies the Fleet—Extraordinary unfavourable Weather—The Fleet returns, having been unable to accomplish the purpose of the Expedition—Effects of the Failure on the Prince—Aquitaine overrun by the Forces of the King of France—Disgraceful State of Affairs at Home—The Prince causes Lord Latimer and Richard Lyons to be prosecuted by the Commons for various offences—Lyons attempts to bribe the Prince—Result of the Experiment—Alarming state of the Prince—His edifying Conduct throughout his dangerous Illness—Behaviour of the Dying Hero to an Enemy—The Bishop of Bangor's Exhortation at his Death-Bed—A Marvellous Incident explained—Death of the Black Prince—Reflections of a contemporary Chronicler on his loss—Lamentations of the People—His Funeral—His Tomb in Canterbury Cathedral—His Epitaph—Character of Edward of Woodstock—His Superiority to King Arthur and Richard Cœur de Lion—His extraordinary Amiability—Effect of the Intelligence of his Death on the Capital de Buch—The King of France commands a stately Funeral Service to be performed for him—His Memory cherished by the Chivalry of Europe—His Armorial Bearings and Badges—Family of the Prince who survived him.

FROM Southampton, after resting for two days to recover from the fatigues of the voyage, the Black Prince was carried in a litter to Windsor castle—where king Edward was then keeping his court—his retinue riding on horseback, and his princess, with the prince Richard of Bordeaux accompanying him, most probably in one of the carriages then in use; a sort of conveyance not equal in its accommodations to a tradesman's cart of the present day. To the thousands who thronged the road to catch a glimpse of their favourite after his long absence, the spectacle of the

pale and emaciated prince, the mere wreck of the manly figure they had so loved to gaze upon, sitting his war-horse the *beau idéal* of a hero, now borne slowly along, scarcely able to move hand or foot, must have been very touching. Their sympathy was universal, and if good wishes, prayers, and blessings, could have done him any good, those which so fervently came to his ears would have ministered to his disease most beneficially. The meeting of the prince with his father also could not but have been exceedingly affecting, for there existed between them the deepest feelings of attachment. The sight of each must have recalled to the other many painful impressions; but the melancholy thus created the king endeavoured to remove as soon as possible, by a most kind reception of the amiable princess and her interesting child, and by attentions likely to soothe the wounded spirit of his gallant son. The latter, however, sighed for repose, and in a short time proceeded from Windsor to his palace at Berkhamstead, where for some time he continued to live in the strictest retirement.

After the departure of Edward of Woodstock from Aquitaine, the duke of Lancaster assumed the sovereign authority, keeping a court at Bordeaux, rivalling in magnificence that of his elder brother in the zenith of his greatness. His first act was very creditable to him. This was his superintendence of the funeral of his nephew Edward of Angoulême, which he caused to be performed at Bordeaux with extraordinary splendour and solemnity, attended by all the principal nobles and knights of the principality who adhered to the cause of his father.¹ But he soon began to exhibit those ambitious designs which he had previously displayed more than once, with as

¹ FROISSART, chap. ccxciv. It has been stated that this young prince was buried in the churchyard of the Augustine friars, London: if so his body must have been embalmed and sent over to England after the funeral. Weever in his *Funeral Monuments*, has preserved the following inscription, "Here was interred the bodie of Edward, the eldest sonne of Edward the Black Prince, by Joan his wife, surnamed the Faire Maide of Kent, who was born at Angoulesme, anno 1375, and died at seven years of age." This makes him born more than three years after he was buried.

little credit to his judgment as to his feelings. One of the most disagreeable features in a character in which there was little to venerate, was an unamiable jealousy of his elder brother, and a continual desire to supplant him in the estimation of the king his father and the chivalry of Europe. Of these efforts, though they must have come unpleasantly under his cognisance, the Black Prince, with a greatness of soul peculiarly his own, not only took no notice, but often repaid them with some advancement or profitable gift, which shewed how little moved he was by such rivalry. About the time of the taking of Limoges he presented the duke with a valuable grant of land in Poitou,¹ and on quitting the principality, selected him as his successor to its government.

The ill-directed ambition of Lancaster first displayed itself after this proud advancement by a marriage with one of the daughters of Pedro the Cruel, left as hostages by their infamous parent on his departure with the prince's army to recover his kingdom. When he was seated on his throne he seems to have cared no more about recovering the princesses than of liquidating the claims of the brave ally in whose custody they remained. They were both of a marriageable age when John of Gaunt became lord paramount in Aquitaine, and he lost no time in uniting himself to the eldest;

¹ SANDFORD, *Genealogical Hist.* l. 3. chap. iv. p. 185. BARNES, p. 807, says, "He was pleased to express his love to his brother the duke of Lancaster by granting unto him the castle, town, and chastellaine of La Roche sur You, in the instrument whereof, bearing date the 8th of October, this year (1370), he styles himself Edward, eldest son of the king of France and of England, prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, duke of Cornwall, earl of Chester, lord of Biscay and of the castle of Ordiales. Appendant to which, in green silk strings, is his seal also of green wax, on which he is represented in his robes, sitting on a throne, with a circle on his head, and a sceptre in his right hand, as duke [viz.] of Aquitaine, between two ostrich feathers and scroll, whereon were the words "Ich Dien," over which are the letters E. P. (viz. Edwardus Princeps) in capitals. On the reverse he is figured on horseback, his surcoat, shield, and the caparisons on his horse, charged with the arms of France and England quarterly, a label of three points, and for his crest a lion passant-guardant, crowned and gorged with a label also of three points; the seal and reverse being thus circumscribed in capitals, "S. Edwardi Primogeniti, Regis Angl. Principis Aquitanie et Wallie, Ducis Cornubie, et Comitis Cestrice."

immediately after the ceremony, which was performed with great splendour, taking upon himself the title of king of Castile in right of his wife.¹ He had quite enough to do in properly performing what he had undertaken—the defence of the principality; but to this he appears to have given very little of his attention, allowing his active enemies to obtain advantages wherever they thought proper to appear in strength, to employ stratagem, or to resort to treachery, whilst he was amusing himself with dreams of a far-off kingdom, for the recovery of which he had nothing like the requisite warlike resources, mental or material.² After giving a series of brilliant entertainments in honour of his nuptials, the self-styled king of Castile abandoned the principality, taking with him, for no better purpose than to swell his train, a large force, every man of which was wanted for the defence of the country.

In visiting the court of England at this period he had more than one object in view. He gratified his vanity by exhibiting his Spanish bride; he sought assistance from his father to accomplish his grand project on the throne of Castile; and endeavoured to make more secure the influence he possessed over the mind of the king which he feared might be endangered by the return of his elder brother. If the Black Prince, in his retirement, heard of these rash and inconsiderate proceedings, he was not in a state to remonstrate; but from some of the Gascon commanders who came over with the duke, particularly one much esteemed by him, Sir Guiscard d'Angle,³ the king obtained intelligence of the deplorable state of things in which the principality had been left. Many of the most distinguished men⁴ who had supported the prince

¹ Her sister was afterwards married to the duke's younger brother, the earl of Cambridge.

² Before his marriage he appears to have been inclined to do his duty, for he besieged and took the strong fortress of Mount Paon, which had a short time previously fallen into the hands of the Bretons.

³ The king, during his stay in England, made him one of the knights of the garter.

⁴ MEZERAY, p. 87.

from affection to his person, had, since he left the country, gone over to the king of France, who, in consequence of the duke's taking upon himself the royal title on his marriage with the princess Constance, had entered into the closest alliance offensive and defensive with the possessor of the kingdom of Castile, count Henry of Transtamare, the result of which threatened the speedy conquest of the principality, if some decisive measures to support the insufficient forces of the king of England there, were not immediately made. King Edward seems to have been satisfied of the peril in which his foreign possessions were placed, and to have made something like an effort to regain his lost influence in that quarter. The earl of Pembroke, who had become a popular leader, was selected as the next governor of Aquitaine. He sailed with an inconsiderable force and enough money to pay for the services of 3000 fighting men, to carry on the war with renewed energy in Poitou, but as he was sailing with his small fleet into the port of Rochelle, he found there a Spanish armament of immensely superior force waiting to receive him, sent by the ruler of Castile at the request of his ally, Charles le Sage, who had obtained by treachery, as usual, early intelligence of the intentions of the king of England. Notwithstanding the great disparity in numbers and in the size of the ships, the little vessels of the new governor of Aquitaine made a most gallant resistance to their bulky adversaries, in which they would have been successful had he not been infamously abandoned to his fate by the people of Rochelle, who, though they had not as yet submitted to the king of France, had been gained over to his interests. The fight was renewed the next morning with increased fury, the earl of Pembroke and his knights performing prodigies of valour, but they were ultimately overpowered by numbers; the greater part died defending their vessels to the last, and the rest, among whom were the governor and Sir Guiscard d'Angle, were taken prisoners and carried off to Spain.¹

¹ FROISSART, chap. cccliii. The ship containing the treasure was sunk.

This disaster was a death-blow to the hopes of the royal party in Aquitaine, where Sir Bertrand du Guesclin met with no force sufficient to cope with him. Town after town surrendered, after a slight resistance—many, among which was Rochelle, acknowledged the authority of the French king, and betrayed their garrisons. The last great commander among them, the Captal de Buch, was made prisoner, and all the country seemed about to fall an easy prey to successful intrigue.

When king Edward heard of the attack upon the earl of Pembroke's force, he deeply lamented having been persuaded by Sir Guiscard d'Angle to send one so inconsiderable, and continued his preparations for carrying on the war against his untiring enemy on a much more important scale; but when he received the intelligence of the rapid progress Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was making towards an entire conquest of the principality—the important city of Thouars being so hard pressed that the garrison had promised to surrender if not relieved in a month—he doubted his exertions to raise the forces necessary for its relief. By the advice of his council a special summons was circulated throughout the realm, commanding all persons capable of bearing arms to appear on a certain day, properly equipped for war, at Sandwich.¹ The stir of arms which was once more heard throughout the kingdom, roused the Black Prince from his seclusion at Berkhamstead, and, the pleasant air of the neighbourhood, and the loving attentions of his amiable partner, having so far advanced him towards recovery, he was induced to appear in public, and to assume his proper influence in the important transactions then so universally canvassed.

His reappearance was hailed with the most intense satisfaction by all classes of the community, with the single exception, it is believed, of the duke of Lancaster; but the prince was apparently warned of the character of his brother, and had, after mature re-

¹ BARNES, p. 844. FROISSART (chap. cccxii.) says Southampton.

flection, determined on extinguishing such of his ambitious designs as were directed against him ; for, before the sailing of the expedition, he presented himself to a full assembly of parliament, and after informing them of his intention to join his father in this momentous struggle against the encroaching king of France, and reminding them of the uncertainty to which his life must be subjected in a sanguinary warfare, desired, that if he should die before his father, the right of his son Richard to succeed his grandfather on the throne of England might be publicly acknowledged. This was readily and universally agreed to ; the king, followed by his sons, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, swearing to uphold the rights of the lord Richard in case of his father's death, and subscribing their hands and seals to an ordinance in which the succession was thus settled.¹ The commons expressed their concurrence by holding up their hands, and consenting in a body.² The king, as if further to assist the prince of Wales in establishing the claim of the youthful prince, by commission, bearing date at Sandwich, the 30th of August, in the forty-sixth year of his reign, constituted Richard his *custos regni*, or lieutenant, during his absence.³

These arrangements having been satisfactorily concluded, the army, consisting of 3000 men-at-arms, 1000 mounted archers, and a proportionate force of infantry, was embarked, and with the king, the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, and the most distinguished commanders, left the port of Sandwich on the same day, "with as great a fleet as ever any king before had carried forth of England."⁴ If the gallant prince entertained sanguine anticipations of yet being able to uphold the honour of his country with the glorious results which had attended his arms in earlier and happier days, he was doomed to be signally disappointed, for the fleet met with such an ex-

¹ FROISSART, chap. cccxii.

² BARNES, p. 844. RYMERI *Fœdera*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 962.

³ SANDFORD, *Genealogical Hist.* p. 191.

⁴ BARNES, p. 844.

traordinary continuance of adverse weather, that, after a month had passed in a vain effort to land at Rochelle, or any where near it, the time being passed for relieving Thouars, the king directed their return to England, and on their arrival had no alternative but to disband an armament that had already cost him, according to some authorities, nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling.¹

This was the last attempt made to support the king of England's authority in Aquitaine. The prince could not hold up against such a blow to his hopes, and after publicly restoring to the king his father all the authority in that country he had formerly been invested with by him, retired once more to Berkhamstead, where his illness so increased, that for a considerable time he was unable to take any part whatever in public proceedings. During this period the whole of the principality became again a part of France, and, indeed, all those possessions on the continent which had been ceded to England by the treaty of Bretigny, with the single exception of Calais, shared the same fate. Sometimes the dying prince rallied a little, so as to pay some attention to the aspect of affairs; but the disgrace which had attended the arms of England abroad, and the discreditable behaviour of the king at home, whilst almost entirely abandoning the helm of state to the unprincipled ambition of the duke of Lancaster and his partisans, were not likely to afford him any consolation, and the irritation they caused most probably assisted his disease.

The state of things in England at this time was most deplorable. The king, who had reigned so long and admirably, appears to have given himself up to follies that as much disgraced his age as his kingly character; and those who had his confidence, the mere creatures of the duke of Lancaster, abused it in every way that would most readily bring his authority into

¹ BARNES, p. 845. According to Froissart, the weather so conspicuously favoured the designs of the French king, that the very day the English army was disbanded, the wind changed, so that a fleet of merchant-ships, employed in the wine trade, had an unusually quick voyage to Bordeaux.

contempt, and his name to disgrace. The shameful conduct of these persons attracted the attention of parliament; but such was the power of Lancaster, that the principal knights and nobles in that assembly were reluctant to attempt to bring them to punishment. The Black Prince, who in his privacy was regarded throughout the kingdom with extraordinary veneration, was appealed to, and with perfect success. Ill as he was, he left Berkhamstead, and took up his residence in the palace of Westminster, that he might look into such matters with his own eyes, and see that the outraged people obtained justice. He caused some of the most criminal of the offenders to be prosecuted.¹ Lord Latimer, who held the office of chamberlain to the king, much more to his own profit than his master's, with one Richard Lyons, who had been engaged in extensive peculations and frauds, were formally accused, and one of them tried to escape the consequences by means which would have been successful in almost any other quarter.²

"In the mean while," says the translator of a contemporary chronicle, "Richard Lyones, hearyng of these accusatyons, fearynge his owne skynne, sent to prince Edward a thousand ponde, wyth other gyftes (for he thought he shulde not delyuer himself from perill of death but by the mediatyon of the prince while he lyved), and in deede, if the sayed prince had lyved, he had had sentence of death gyven against hym as he deserved. The prince, weighinge in the balance of justice his lewd actes, refused to accept of the gold that was sent hym, sendyng backe all that the sayed Rycharde had presented hym wyth, and byddyng hym to reape the frutes of his wages, and to drynke as he had brued."³

The Black Prince was incorruptible, and the duke of Lancaster found himself compelled, by the influence of his brother with the great body of the people, to allow of sentence being passed in parliament against

¹ *Life of Edward of Windsor.*

² *Hart. MSS. No. 6217.*

³ This incident is related with some variation, *Hart. MS. 247*, p. 169, where it is stated that Lyons "by water sent unto the said prince a barill of gould, as if it had been a barill of sturgeon, to purchase his good favour; but when the present was tendered, the prince did utterly refuse it, answering in this manner,—that which is in the barill is resty and no whay profitable, for it was neither well nor truly gotten, and therefore he would receive no such present, neither support the said Richard to favour him in his euill doynge."—*Archæologia*, vol. xxii.

both these men ; but unfortunately for the nation, with whom he was so deservedly popular, the malady of the prince attacked him so fiercely, that speedy dissolution could not be avoided, and in his death the criminals well knew they should find safety. His disease appears to have had periodical returns, which occurred every month, so wasting his physical energies, " that his servant took him very often for dead."

His conduct during this terrible malady has been represented as most edifying. Patient, humble, and resigned, he passed his hours of consciousness in almsgiving and the most fervent prayers, in admonitions to his youthful son, and in affectionate consolation to his friends and dependants.

When it was made known to him that a few days, perhaps hours, must inevitably terminate his career, he endeavoured to make the most of the little time allowed him to settle his account on earth. He caused his will to be carefully drawn up, in which he bequeathed legacies to different individuals whose attachment to him he was anxious, while he had it in his power, to reward ; and in this document, the more strongly to mark his superiority over ordinary feelings, he named as one of his executors the very person whose selfish policy had so often sought to undermine his own authority,—his brother, the duke of Lancaster. The other executors were the bishops of Winchester, Bath, and St. Asaph, Robert Walsham, his confessor, Hugh Seagrave, his steward, Sir Alan Stokes, and Sir John Fordham. The will contains minute directions for the ordering of his funeral, and in other respects is of much historical interest.¹

The following day was the feast of the Holy Trinity, which he seemed to regard with more than ordinary interest.

" O holy Trinity," said he, " blessed be thou for evermore, whose name upon earth I have always worshipped, whose honour I have studied to enlarge, in whose faith (although otherwise a wicked man and a

¹ NICHOLLS, *Collection of Royal and Noble Wills*.

sinner) I have always lived, I heartily pray thee that as I have magnified this thy feast upon earth, and for thy honour have called the people together to celebrate the same feast with me, deliver thou me from this death, and vouchsafe to call me to that most delectable feast that is kept this day with thee in Heaven."

His desire was gratified, but his last acts and words must be given in the graphic minuteness of the old chronicler, or rather his Latin original, who appears to have had peculiar opportunities for being well informed in the interesting transactions he narrates :¹—

" Before his death he distributed large gifts, as well to his household servants as to others of what station or condition soever, and he humbly requested the king his father that he would ratify his gifts, and would cherish and favour those his servants and friends. ' For that,' said he, ' they have deserved to have many other things, both of your gift and mine,' and that he would suffer his debts speedily to be paid of his own proper goods, which thing the king promised again; and granted his third petition, that is to say, that he would favour his son, and give him his counsel and help. After this, calling his son unto him (although but a little one), he commanded him, upon pain of his curse, he should never change or take away the gifts that he at his death gave unto his servants."

This is one of the numerous examples on record of the prince's attention to the interests of those faithful friends and servants to whose good offices he felt himself indebted, and of his anxiety that his obligations of a pecuniary nature, which there is every reason to be-

¹ There is some reason, as has been elsewhere stated, for believing the writer to have been Thomas de la Mare, abbot of St. Albans, who had numerous influential family and other connexions, and having at one time obtained the confidence of Edward the Third (*Walsingham MSS. in Bib. Cott. fo. 232*), was, no doubt, interested in and well aware of what was going on at court. He had been appointed president of the general chapter of Benedictines throughout England, and in his official capacity visited the monasteries of Beauheiu, Reading, and St. Edmundsbury. He had escaped the pestilence of 1349 (*MS. in Ben. Coll. lib. vii. p. 6, cit. per Newcome*); but that which raged in 1389, though he lived for seven years after, made such ravages in his constitution, that he existed in a state bordering on the grave till he sunk into it at the advanced age of eighty-eight (*Hartl. MSS. no. 377.5*), leaving behind him the memory of an active life, spent to the honour of his church and the good of his country. He was buried near the last step of the altar of his abbey, with the following epitaph :

" Est abbas Thomas tumulo presente reclusus,
Qui vitæ tempus sanctos expendit in usus."

WEEVER'S *Funeral Monuments*, p. 561.

lieve had long painfully distressed him, should be paid out of his own private property as soon after his decease as possible. The reader having seen how he regarded his friends in his last hour, may now learn how he behaved to his enemies. The Sir Richard Sturry, mentioned in the following paragraph, was one of the wholesale plunderers the prince had recently been endeavouring to bring to punishment.

"It chanced in the same hour, that the forenamed Sir Richard Sturry¹ came to see him, for the prince had commanded that his door should be shut to none, not to the least boy [page], whereon the said Richard entered more boldly. The prince now prostrate, and in the pangs of death, lifting up his eyes as well as he might, seeing that same Richard, he said, 'Come hither, Richard, come near, and behold that which thou hast long desired to see;' and when he affirmed with an oath that he never desired the sight of his death, 'It is otherwise,' said he; 'thou wast afraid of thy own skin, thy conscience telling thee that in time to come, I would not suffer thy excesses, or the evil counsel thou suggestest to the king, unpunished; and truly, so it would have chanced if God had granted my life, and thou would have found that to have been true: evil counsel is worst to the counsellor; but now I go whither God calls me, whom I humbly beseech (if thou escape the hands of men), that he will make an end of thy evil deeds.' And when he (Sturry) wept and prayed him of pardon, 'God that is just,' sayed he, 'reward thee according to thy deserts; I will not thou trouble me any longer; depart forth of my sight, not hereafter to see my face again.'"

Sturry, who will be met with shortly playing a much more distinguished part, probably came as a spy; but he no doubt made more haste to leave the chamber of the dying prince—whose indignation, thus impressively addressed to him, had been excited by his infamous conduct—than he had taken to enter it. But the lamentable scene draws rapidly to its conclusion:—

"After his departure he began vehemently to faint and so to lose his strength, that scarce any breath remained in him, which the bishop of Bangor, who then was present, perceiving, he came unto him, and said, 'Now, without doubt, death is at hand, and he is to go whither God hath appointed, therefore, I counsel you, my lord, now to forgive all those that have offended you, and for that it is manifest that you have offended both God and many men, therefore ask God forgiveness; and, secondly, all men whom of set purpose or ignorantly, you have willingly offended,' to whom he answered, 'I will.' And the bishop said, 'It sufficeth not to say only I will, but when you have power, declaring the same by words, you ought to ask pardon,' but he answered nothing else, but only 'I will;' and when he had oftentimes done this, the bishop said, 'I suppose some

¹ See *Life of Edward of Windsor*.

evil spirits to be here present that let (hinder) this tongue, whereby he cannot express his mind with words,' and taking the sprinkle, he cast holy water by the four corners of the chamber where he lay, and behold suddenly the prince with joined hands and eyes lifted up to heaven said, 'I give thee thanks, O God, for all thy benefits, and with all the pains of my soul. I humbly beseech thy mercy to give me remission of those sins which I have wickedly committed against thee, and of all mortal men whom willingly or ignorantly I have offended, with all my heart, I desire forgiveness.'"

Upon closer consideration, this part of the narrative is not so marvellous as it may first appear, for it is evident that when first spoken to by the prelate, the expiring hero could only from exhaustion articulate the words "I will;" but recovering a little strength shortly after, he might have poured forth the appropriate language placed in his mouth by the monkish chronicler, and given the worthy bishop¹ an opportunity of displaying his talents in the disadvantage of the arch-enemy, in a manner perfectly consistent with the spirit of the age. There remains only to add the closing sentences with which the old chronicler dismisses this affecting scene:—

"When he had spoken these words, he gave up the ghost to go, as we believe, to his banquet, whose feast he then worshipped in earth, who departing, all hope of Englishmen departed, for he being present they feared not the incursions of any enemies, nor the forcible meeting in battle;

¹ There are some singular circumstances connected with the history of one of the prince's chaplains, Robert Stretton, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, doctor of laws, and one of the auditors of the Rota in the Papal court. He procured his election through his patron's interest, who—although he was rejected for insufficiency by the authorities at Rome, the archbishop of Canterbury, and his assessor the bishop of Rochester—continued to support him, and finally induced the archbishop to commission the bishops of London and Rochester to consecrate him, which was done on the 27th September, 1360. The next year, Dr. Stretton made his profession of canonical obedience before the archbishop at Lambeth, "also professionem legente," as the register expresses it, "quod ipse legere non posset." In 1381, the chapter of Canterbury, during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see, commanded him within ten days, to take a coadjutor, he having become, through infirmity, incapable of performing his duties; and on the 28th of March, 1385, he departed this life, in his manor of Heywode.—*Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. pp. 4–31. "There is a very singular instance," says bishop Burnet (*Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii. app. p. 414; see also Whitlock *de Episc. Cor. et Lichf.*), "in the *Year Book*, 43 Edw. III. SS. 6: for a *quare impedit* was brought against him by the king called bishop of Chester; the judgment given at the end of it is, that he should go to the Great Devil. This is a singular instance of an extraordinary judgment; there being no precedent like it in all our records."

he being present, they never suffered any rebuke for that they had done evil or forsaken the field; and as it is said of Alexander the Great, he never went against any country which he won not, he never besieged any city which he took not.¹ This doth testify the battle at Cressy, the siege of Calais, the battle of Poitiers, where the king of France was taken, the battle of Spain, where Henry Bastard, the invader of that kingdom, was driven away, and Don Peter, the right king of that realm, restored to his dominion; and, lastly, that greatest siege of the city of Leovicense (Limoges), where although with the multitude so pressed that he was scarce able to sit on his horse, yet at that hour he so encouraged his soldiers, that they supposed it impossible for any city to resist their force. * * * O untimely death! that causest sorrow in the whole realm of England, in that thou takest away him that seemed to be the aid and help of Englishmen. O how sorrowful leavest thou the old king, his father, taking from him not only his desire, but the delight of the whole people, that is to say, in taking from him his first-begotten son, that should sit in his throne after him, and should judge the people in equity! O how great and what sorrow givest thou to the country, that in his absence believeth herself to be void of a protector! What sinks of sorrow givest thou to citizens, deprived of such a prince; what triumphing joys to enemies, the fear of such a defender being taken away! Truly, unless God (who defended him in that life, and hath now taken him from this world, perchance that we should put our trust more confidently in God,) hold, under his blessed hand, lest the miserable Englishmen be trodden down, it is to (be) feared that our enemies who compass us on every side will rage upon us, even to utter destruction, and will take our place and country. Arise, Lord, help us, and defend us for thy name's sake!"

The fears of the pious chronicler were, unfortunately, but too well founded, and his eloquent language, while it barely does justice to the merits of the dead, gives but a faint idea of the universal lamentation that prevailed when it became known to the people of England, that he who was at once their idol, their hope, and their glory, had passed for ever from amongst them. They had not only to endure a heavy load of disappointment, but the oppression of forebodings equally intolerable. Their only gratification seemed to be, to recall to mind the various excellences that distinguished their departed prince above all the most celebrated knights they had seen or heard of; and whilst the proceedings of the funeral were arranging, every veteran man-at-arms who had witnessed the achievements of their hero found ample employment in relating the marvellous valour, skill, and chivalrous bearing with which they had been performed.

¹ BARNES, p. 883, makes use of words almost identical with these, and refers in the margin to WALSINGHAM, *Hist.* p. 186, *et MS. Vet. Ang. in Bib. C. C. C. Cantab.* c. 238.

The death of the Black Prince occurred on the 8th of June, 1376, but probably from the extensive preparations made to do honour to his remains, he lay in state for some time, and was then wrapped in lead till the following September. All classes hastened to shew their respect to his memory, and the funeral procession, in which the principal feature was a stately hearse drawn by twelve horses, lacking nothing of melancholy grandeur, wended its mournful way over London Bridge, through the pleasant county of Kent, attended by the king, the royal family, and the principal nobility in mourning habits; and all who belonged to the parliament, or were attached to the service of arms, found places in the procession, or accompanied it with their earnest prayers. After they had reached Canterbury, the funeral obsequies were performed in its stately cathedral, where a tomb of a most elaborate description, varying very slightly from the directions given in the will for its erection, was raised to his honour, on the south side near the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. The monument is of grey marble, with his effigy of copper gilt; the ends and sides garnished with escutcheons of copper, enamelled with his arms, one bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, with a label of three points, and the other the ostrich-feathers, commonly called from him the prince's arms, with the word "Houmont" on the former, and "Ich Dien" on the latter. On an iron bar over the tomb are placed the helm and crest, coat of mail and gauntlets, and on a pillar above, his shield of arms richly diapered with gold—all which he is said to have used in battle.¹

The following inscription in Norman French was engraved on a fillet of brass beginning at the head of the monumental figure:—

"Cy gist le noble prince, Monsieur Edward, aïsnez filz du tres-noble Roy Edward tiers; jadis Prince d'Aquitaine² et de Galles, Duc de Corn-

¹ BARNES, p. 883. SANDFORD, p. 188. GOUGH, STOTHARD, WEEVER.

² This inscription must have been placed here by the king, for the prince, as may be seen from his will, had ceased to style himself prince of Aquitaine.

waille, et Comte de Cestre, qu morust en la feste de la Trinite, questoit le viii. jour de Juyn, l'an de grace mill. trois cenx septante sisine. L'aime de que Dieu cit mercie. Amen."¹

There is an epitaph in verse, in the same language, inscribed on another part of the tomb; the original will be found in the will, but it has been "done into English," by the learned Joshua Barnes, with very little credit to his poetical powers.

The more durable part of this interesting monument was in excellent preservation when the author made a careful inspection of it in July 1842, but the ravages of time are but too visible in some places; the painting over the recumbent figure having been entirely erased, the coat of mail crumbling away piecemeal, and the shield which had borne unhurt so many hard blows, looks as if it would fall to pieces at a touch. There is no weapon existing among the relics suspended over the monument, and of the armour the author found a difficulty of satisfying his mind, that the helmet had defended the honoured head of the hero who rested in peace beneath.

The character of Edward of Woodstock has been a favourite subject for eulogy, and one of the very few in which there is no necessity for qualifying the praise employed. Regarded only for its heroic attributes, it stands out amongst many brilliant contemporary examples, the *beau idéal* of the knight of the fourteenth century; but the physical qualifications that make so prominent a figure in the admirable gifts of such worthies, were well seconded by such intellectual resources as were sure to turn them to the best account. He had talents for command which seem never to have been exercised without being imperatively called for, under circumstances that required them to be of the highest order; and were rarely employed without creating an effect altogether unexampled and unimagined. There is every reason for believing that he had equal

¹ Here lieth the noble prince, the lord Edward, eldest son of the thrice noble king Edward the Third, late prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, who died on the feast of the Trinity, which was the eighth day of June, in the year of grace 1376. On whose soul God have mercy. Amen.

talents for government; but the field on which they were exercised, and the circumstances that attended or caused their display were of a nature so intractable that the ablest lawgivers, ancient or modern, could not have made them subservient to their wishes. He was the model of the prince of his age, the most accomplished soldier in Europe, a lover of knights and knightly deeds, munificent to prodigality, a rewarder of merit, a champion of the helpless, a dispenser of justice to the wronged, an excellent son, a kind brother, a tender father and loving husband, an honourable enemy and a most faithful friend.

We shall in vain look amongst the worthies of England for his peer, for although on a slight acquaintance the reputation of one or two of his ancestors seems to entitle them to a rivalry in fame, on close examination they will be found to have no pretensions to any thing of the kind. The qualifications of the very head and fount of Christian chivalry, the royal Arthur, as far as there are means of judging of them, are greatly excelled by those of the Black Prince; and whatever may have been the abilities of that famous champion of the cross, Richard Cœur de Lion, if we compare his services in the field with those of his descendant, we cannot avoid holding them in a much lower degree of estimation. But there are certain traits in the character of this heroic prince in which comparison even with the best and noblest of his kind is out of the question. There is no instance of a prince under the most triumphant circumstances behaving with such uniform humility. Were there no other characteristics preserved of him than his behaviour to his most inveterate enemies, his prisoner, king John of France, and his brother, the duke of Lancaster, he would deserve to find a place among the most exalted of the great ones of the earth. Froissart has in one or two passages endeavoured to place him in an unamiable light, but even supposing he had grounds for so doing, which is very doubtful, it must be remembered that the chronicler refers to a time when the mind and heart of the hero were unfavourably influenced by disease.

Edward of Woodstock ought to be judged only when his energies were in a healthy state, when he rode in humble attendance on his captive enemy, munificently rewarded the gallantry of the wounded Audley and his faithful esquires, and when by the most daring display of valour he obtained an unexampled victory, attributed all the glory of the day to the favour of his Creator.

The latter part of his career exhibits only the flame which had burnt so brilliantly, flickering in the socket, threatening a sudden extinguishing, yet occasionally sending up a blaze, which, though eccentric and transitory, gave evidence of what was still "a burning and a shining light." A disposition so noble must have been fearfully affected by the perfidy that in his latter years seemed to surround him on every side; look which way he would, nothing met his eyes but fraud, falsehood, and treachery. He found himself beggared by the dishonesty of the fugitive he had befriended; driven from his government by the over-reaching of an enemy he had spared; whilst an attempt was made to lower his reputation by the ambitious intrigues of the brother he had always sought to honour. If these did not shake his noble confidence in the omnipotence of what was great and good, it must indeed have been well secured; and so it was; for, up to the latest hour of his existence, he was the same lowly, generous, confiding, and self-forgetting being, he had been from his first entrance upon the path of public life.¹

¹ When the prince became possessed of Chylemine park he granted it to the corporation of Coventry, with a license to enclose the town with a wall of lime and stone embattled, for which a tax was laid on the inhabitants. Under the east window of St. Mary's Hall, in different panels, the corporation have endeavoured to express their gratitude by the following inscription:—

"Princeps ille niger (nivei qui vertice pennas
Crista minax victi regis casique Bohemis
Exuviis) heros Edouardus magnus in armis
His sedem posuit, sic dicta est principis aula
Hoc autore fuit libertas civibus aucta,
Muneribusque ornata suis respublica crevit.
Hinc depicta vides passim sua penna per urbem,
Testatur magni monumentum et pignus amoris."

With a proper regard for the understandings of the commonalty a translation in doggerel English rhymes is placed opposite these lines.

His death created a void in the ranks of chivalry which it was in vain to think of filling, and his old companions in arms looked upon it as the downfall of all that was truly glorious in the profession of war. One of the most celebrated of their number, the Captal de Buch, when the intelligence reached him,—with a devotion which shews the intense feeling of love and reverence the prince excited amongst his bravest followers,—would hear of no consolation, refused nourishment, and in a few days the hardy veteran of so many well-fought fields died of a broken heart. Even the unprincipled Charles le Sage, whose contemptible policy had been so long digging the hero's grave, seemed to regard his loss as a calamity equally affecting all Christian nations, and was from that moment disposed to enter into a lasting peace with the power he had a short time since been so anxious to overthrow.¹ The leaders of the free companies, and the ablest soldiers throughout Europe, deeply lamented his loss, and spoke of him with affectionate admiration as “the flower of all chivalry in the world at that time;”² and for many a year after his death his deeds and those of his most distinguished companions became quoted by the brave of all nations, with the same enthusiastic devotion with which it had so long been the fashion to refer to the achievements of king Arthur and his redoubtable knights.³

¹ FROISSART, chap. cccxxv, says that the king of France had funeral service on a magnificent scale performed in Paris in honour of the deceased prince.

² JAMES, vol. ii. p. 387.

³ There appears to have been a singular resemblance between the Black Prince and one of the heroes of Welsh song. See an elegy on Owain ab Urien Reged. “The soul of Owain ab Urien, Oh, may his protecting father safely guide in his trying hour. The leafy green turf now hides the chief of Reged, whose fame was celebrated in songs that were not dishonourable. His praise-deserving beverage did animate the bards; his spears, sharp-pointed, were winged with pain; never can we hope to see one to be compared with the lord of the luxuriant dales of Llevenydd. Quick were the firm-grasping hands of the father and grandfather's offspring in the red reaping of the foes. When Owain killed Flumddwyn, none laid more to sleep than he. Lloegrin's widely scattered hosts slept with the light in their eyes full glaring; those who fled not soon met their unavoidable fate. Owain punished them in his wrath, like the devouring wolf pursuing the timid sheep. He was a hero of renown, conspicuous with his various-coloured trappings, ever free in bestowing

The princess Joan survived her husband several years, testifying her respect for his memory by remaining a widow till her death. His only surviving son born in wedlock was Richard of Bordeaux, who shortly succeeded him in his titles. He had two other sons, who were illegitimate, Sir John Sounder and Sir Roger Clarendon; but as he only mentions the latter in his will,¹ it is presumed that only one remained alive at the date of his death. He left also a daughter Maud, of whom so little is known, that scarcely any historian seems to have been aware of her existence. She was married to Valoran de Luxembourg, count of Ligny and St. Paul,² and constable of France.

The coat of arms of Edward of Woodstock was the same as that adopted by his father, when putting forth his claim to the throne of France; with the addition of a label of three points; denoting his being an eldest son. His badges were, I. The stock of a tree couped and eradicated, gold,—in allusion to the place of his birth. II. Golden rays proceeding from clouds. III. The ostrich-feathers.

His portrait, given in the frontispiece, is taken from his monument. One of great interest, with another of his father, were discovered painted in fresco, on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel. Both have been engraved and published by the Society of Antiquaries.

war-horses to those that craved them. Thus, as he hoarded not, like the rapacious, no destiny could have been determined hurtful to his son, the soul of Owain," &c.

¹ Sir Roger is left a legacy of a silk bed and hangings, "*Item, noz devisoms a sire Rog' de Claryndon un lit de soie solonc lavis de noz ex-cuteurs, avec tout ce q' app'tient au dit lit.*" His half brother, Richard the Second, made him one of the knights of his chamber, and granted him an annuity of 100*l.* a-year. He was beheaded in the reign of Henry the Fourth, for being concerned with the earl of Northumberland in maintaining that Richard the Second was still alive. SANDFORD, p. 189. His arms are given in GWYLLIM'S *Heraldry*; a shield or, on a bend sable, three ostrich-feathers argent passing through as many scrolls of the first, with the prince's motto, "*Ich Dien.*" Of Sir John Sounder the author has not been able to discover any account on which dependence can be placed.

² The count challenged Henry the Fourth, king of England, making use of these words, "*Considerant l'affinité, amour, et confederation que j'avoie par devers tres haut et puissant prince Richard roy d'Angleterre, duquel j'ay en la sœur en espouse.*"—MONSTRELET.

APPENDIX.

POEM ATTRIBUTED TO EDWARD OF CERNARVON.

*“ Hic incipit lamentatio gloriosi Regis Edwardi Carnarvan,
quam edidit tempore suæ incarcerationis.*

“ DAMPNUM michi contigit tempore brumali,
Forma satis aspera vehementis mali.
Favor ejus placidus nunquam michi favit,
Sed, ut semper comperi, sinistra paravit.
Nullus est tam sapiens, mitis aut formosus,
Tam prudens, virtutibus ceteris famosus,
Quin stultus reputabitur, et datis despectus,
Si fortuna prosperos avertat effectus.
Heu! clamorem facio, sed nullus intendit.
Ipsi nam conqueror, qui gratiam non tendit.
Terreus honor undique stat penitus ablatas,
Cui confidentiam non dedissem status.
Pluribus honoribus multos sublimavi,
Qui me quærunt sternere detrimento gravi.
Amorem parvum exhibent minus miserautes,
Sed michi sunt in carcere pœnam preparantes.
Michi pœnas inferunt more nimis vili,
Clamantes, quod merui, causa sed exili.
Fidem suam frivolam nunc parlamento
Michi sursum tribuunt, quæ volat cum vento.
O! salutis Domine, ecce! pœnitentem,
Et de malis omnibus veniam petentem.
Et precor, quod patitur corpus de tormentis,
Meritum sit animæ, et medela mentis.
Merita fore nimia honoresque speravi,
Quæ privatis creditis amicis paravi.
Si quid male fecerim, me pœnitet fecisse,
Ipsorum et consilio juratum me fuisse.
Si contra fidem fecerim, aut in hoc deliqui,
Non ignoras, Domine, tu conscius iniqui.
Tu scis satis clare, cum nil sit velatum,
Quin tuo patet visui lucide monstratum.

O iudex justissime, qui cuncta judicatis,
Mecum precor agite munus pietatis.
Tibi, Ihesu dulcis, me tribuo cum lacrimis,
Veniam petens de peccatis, quæ feci, miserrimis.
Nunc, qui dudum me solebant multum formidare,
Me contemnunt, nec desistunt false subsannare.
Deridentes, aprum vocant dejectum, obloquiis,
Totus mundus ut abjectum me torquet obprobriis.
Mei secretissimi me false deceperunt,
Sed nimis tarde laqueos scivi, quos tenderunt.
Certe vidi nimis ipsorum tendicula,
Quæ parabant proditores justis offendicula.
Ipsos michi credidi amicos fuere,
Qui tantis miseriis me gaudent videre.
Plura sibi preciosa jocalia contuleram,
Sed non bene hæc merentur, quos ita dotaveram.
Habent ipsi modo risum, ego planetum occupo,
Et sic jocus non est aequo bipartitus modulo.
Sunt partiti jocum michi carentem laticia,
Unde meum cor impletum nimis est tristitia.
Ipsa nuper, in qua experiri credidi
Fidem, sed extinctam examussim repperi.
O! Deus, quanto ipsam zelo peramavi?
Sed extincta est scintilla fervens, ut probavi.
De amore tam fluenti mundiale gaudium
Vere meum nunc recessit, ut fecit quam plurimum.
Viscerose cogito sine mora longius
Foret michi tempus mori, quam vivere diutius.
Qui tantos miserrime honores perdideram,
Spes non instet alia, ut quondam credideram.
Heu! me nunc miserimum! cur lamenta protuli,
Si hoc factum voluit Deus, quod pertuli?
Patienter sustinebo ejus beneplacitum,
Et me totum sibi reddam, poscens patrociniū.
Ipsi soli deservire dabo diligentiam,
Heu! quod prius hoc intentum non vicit memoriam.
Nec est mirum, si lamenta talia me torqueant,
Cum honores sic ablati hic redire nequeant.
Sed, ut scio, extat sanum, quod pœnitendo conferam
Me Iheso Christo crucifixo, ut hæc vana deseram.
Cor contritum et afflictum sane meum redditur
De peccatis universis, quibus Deus offenditur.
Tristi tamen firmaria hostes me clauscrunt,
Et tres reges eligentes præ ceteris tulerunt.

Horum tamen juniorem venustant corona
 Proditores, quem ne vincant, servet mater Dei bona.
 Hostes ejus confundantur, et hunc Deus muniat;
 Regem valde sapientem ipsum Deus faciat.
 Committendo potestatem ut rebelles reprimat,
 Et baronum principatus prudenter manu teneat.
 Universi inimici, qui nocere præparant,
 Sibi damnum aut inferre, ulcionem subeant.
 In hoc certe cordis mei completur desiderium,
 Totum semper quod peragat constans Deo placitum.
 Amodo non conquerar, mundi bonum quod amisi.
 Nam ex usu diuturno falluntur sic confisi.
 Dulcis Ihesus, qui nos omnes dignatur redimere
 Suo sanguine precioso, ineffabili munere,
 Per precatu electorum cæli sacro culmine,
 Qui regni sunt participes angelorum agmine,
 Ad ipsorum gloriam me ducat infra breve,
 Quæ non cito transiit, ut hoc vanum leve.
 Jam oportet me finire, cesso plus dicere,
 Sed cautus cito vade, viam festinans itinere
 Ad ipsam cervam, cujus partus detrimentum patitur.
 Cui dicas breviter, quando et cervus irascitur,
 Et quæcumque bestia suis cornibus læditur.
 Ejus in memoriam imprimat, quod sequitur,
 Prudenti sapientia ne ducta lædatur.
 Sagaciter se habeat, nec perperam loquatur.
 Imperitos et prudentes omnes vos unanimes
 Pro me precor quod oretis sanctos hic exanimes.
 O! Maria mater pia, quæ portasti Dominum
 Ihesum Christum crucifixum, salvatorem hominum,
 Fulgens, fragrans inter flores, ut rosa vel lilium,
 Proper gaudia, quæ vidisti patrata per filium.
 Funde preces nunc devotas pro quocumque prodito,
 Et injusto judicato criminis immerito,
 Ut postquam à materia spiritus separetur,
 In cælesti gloria quies sibi detur. *Amen.*"

END

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